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PROBLEMS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

PROBABLY never before in our history have our teachers shown so much interest in the profession of teaching, or been so concerned in understanding their work in its social and professional, as well as its instructional, aspects. Better general education and professional training, better salaries and living conditions, and better community standing and community interest in the work they are doing have all contributed to this new and desirable awakening. The most important contributing element, however, has been the new national interest in education itself which has recently come to us as a people, in large part as one of the by-products of the World War. Public education, as a result, has been dignified as a national interest and service to a degree never before experienced in all our history.

Our part in the great conflict brought forcibly to the attention of our people a large number of problems of national importance that can be solved in any permanent way only by means of education. Problems of illiteracy, adult education, citizenship training, health and welfare problems, and problems of vocational education and guidance soon came to the front. Deeper than these we soon perceived were problems in training for useful and effective citizenship, the development of responsibility as well as initiative in young people, training for rational self-control in a democratic society, the awakening of a new conception of liberty guided by law, and the revelation to young people of the meaning of our political organization and the greatness of the democratic nobility in which all may share. These problems in turn involve still other and still more fundamental problems

of the reorganization of our curricula, the redirection of much of our educational work, and the adequate training of our teachers for national as well as local service in a school organized to meet the new-world conditions and problems that lie ahead.

The stimulating effect on the teaching force of the Nation of all these changes in interest and direction has been profound. Far more than is generally realized, a new leaven is at work among the rank and file of our teachers. Questions to which they once paid but little attention now interest them deeply, and they ask to be given their rightful place in such an important national undertaking as the education of a great people. In consequence they are demanding that staff officers and lay boards alike shall recognize the contribution the classroom teacher can make to the solution of our educational problems.

This is largely a new, and until quite recently an unrecognized, force in school administration, and hence it is but natural that organizations of classroom teachers should, in their zeal, at times have overstepped their proper field for service. Certainly one of the dangers we face, in the immediate future, is that teachers' organizations, not fully understanding administrative difficulties and the administrative point of view, may unintentionally but nevertheless seriously interfere with the proper and effective working of school administrative officers. Our teachers mean well, but they often lack knowledge on administrative questions and the special problems of their work.

It has been to meet this need on the part of the teaching profession that this book has been written. The large problems of the teaching profession are considered, the different points of view on each have been set forth, and tentative conclusions have been stated. The teacher who reads the different chapters should obtain a new insight into the pro-

blems of her profession and the place and importance of her work. The treatment of the different topics, too, is such that the professional school administrator and the school board member as well would profit almost equally by a careful reading of this book. The problems considered are their problems as well.

Naturally the large immediate need for a volume of this type is by the eight hundred thousand and more teachers now engaged in public school work in the schools of our Nation. They should read the book with interest and profit, and a careful reading of it cannot help rendering an important service in orienting them on the important present-day problems of their profession. To reach the teacher now in service the Reading Circle is our chief means, though a number of summer schools have, within a year or two, added a definite course covering the same type of teacher problems as is considered in this volume.

The yearly turn-over in teaching, though, is large, and a real need of to-day is the proper orientation of those entering the teaching service. It would be well if training institutions now preparing new teachers for service in our public schools were to include, somewhere in their professional work, a short course dealing with just such professional problems as are considered in the pages which follow. The desirability of such a course was pointed out in the Carnegie Foundation preliminary report on normal school curricula, and has been pointed out in teacher-training literature elsewhere. Such a course could not be other than very useful.

The authors and the editor alike hope that the volume may contribute much toward a more fundamental understanding of the present-day problems of the profession in which our teachers have enrolled for service.

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY

PREFACE

No other profession has made so much progress during the present century as has that of teaching. Most of the development has taken place in the short space of a decade. Its beginning does not date necessarily to the opening of the World War. The great struggle only served to bring into high relief grave professional problems of which the profession had for long been aware, and which, under the impetus of the new scientific movement, it was vigorously attacking.

Social ills are always aggravated, however, in time of great stress. Teachers saw their meager salaries dwindle into practically nothing by the swelling volume of prices. Teaching loads piled up. The demands for extra-school services were multiplied. There was an insistent demand to keep the schools efficient. Those who stayed at their posts saw the demoralization of education that came through wholesale desertions of teaching, and the consequent replacement of experienced teachers with the untrained and the inexperienced.

Our people emerged from the world conflict with a new faith in education. It was perceived by teacher and layman alike that efficiency, either in peace or in war, could be insured only by a stable, resolute, intelligent, and efficient citizenry. They fixed their hopes of the future on the schools. Enrollment increased by far more than the normal rates. New subjects of instruction were introduced. New plans of organization were projected. New standards of excellence were insisted upon. Scientific measuring devices were perfected. Comparing the form and spirit of education to-day with that of twenty years ago, we can indeed say that

there has been a renaissance. Teachers, in their efforts to comply with the social demands for more and better schools, became conscious of problems to be solved and obstacles to be removed if they were to render the fullest and most efficient service.

While these problems are professional, they are no less social. The improvement of teaching conditions, at which teachers have aimed in their campaigns for decent salaries, stable tenure, expert supervision, and old-age pensions, has been sought, not because they benefited teachers only, but because society also profited. Not a single example of profiteering on the part of the teaching profession has been found; not a single sign of a disposition to take unfair advantage can be pointed out. Through the voluntary effort of individuals and groups, these problems of vital import to all are being pushed to a solution.

By no means have they been solved. There are some where the way to the solution seems plain and open. Others are in that very interesting stage where controversy is just beginning to yield to research. Others are still in need of definition and analysis. Probably never before in the history of mankind has the attention of so many intelligent people been focused upon a group of social and economic problems such as now occupy the attention of teachers. The great body of teachers in service and those standing at the door of the profession have been and are seriously concerned about the outcome.

It is for both these groups of teachers that this book has been written. First we show what the leading professional problems are. Then we follow by a statement of the factors involved in the solution. In several instances a new analysis and organization is attempted. Whenever pertinent scientific investigations of the subject have been made, they are referred to, with a brief summary of their

respective contributions. The aim in the references has been to give preference to that material which will be of most help to teachers and teachers' organizations that are at work on the problems.

There has been no disposition to ignore controversial matters. The authors believe that all such questions should be faced frankly and unflinchingly. We should, of course, deal with them as impersonally as possible. The relative merits and demerits of the various points of view have been given, without conscious prejudice. If the arguments seem at times to favor one side more than another, it may be due to the novelty of seeing a point of view which has not often appeared in public print.

The purpose has not been to reach final conclusions. The very nature of the problems, and the lack of complete and accurate data on them, preclude any such action even if it were considered wise. If statements occasionally appear arbitrary and dogmatic, allowance must be made for the fact that it is physically impossible to qualify properly every remark in a field where conjecture is as yet rife. Many topics which could be touched only incidentally in the body of the book are suggested for investigation and discussion, under the head of the "Exercises and Problems" given at the end of each chapter. While only a small proportion of the total number of articles published appear among the "Selected References," an unusually careful attempt has been made to list only those that throw most light upon the questions being considered. It is hoped that the book will stimulate discussion, invite challenge, and finally result in investigation that will bring the truth to light. This last must be done if we are to have a well-ordered, efficient profession.

The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to many teachers and supervisors for suggestions and assistance.

They are under special obligations to Professor Cubberley, of Stanford University, for inspiration and guidance throughout the whole course of the development of the book. Professor J. B. Sears, also of Stanford University, has given generously to the chapters on tenure, participation in administration, and teachers' organizations. To all we take occasion to express our grateful thanks.

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PROBLEMS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION



CHAPTER I

OPPORTUNITIES IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Education and opportunity. Suppose some one asks you why you decided to become a teacher. You may answer that it was mere chance, or in obedience to the advice of friends, or because you lived near a school that trained for the teaching profession, or that you thought that you would find a personal satisfaction in the work that would be lacking in other fields. However, if you answer as most teachers do, you will say that you became a teacher because you believed you could be of service to others, and could help others to improve the welfare of mankind. You look upon education as a means of progress.

Not only is this reply typical to-day, but it has always illustrated the views of thinking people. Philosophers have turned to the schools as agencies through which to introduce their social reforms. Statesmen have depended upon education in leading to right thinking on political subjects. Churchmen see in the work of the teacher an avenue for moral and religious training. Lawyers believe that respect for legal authority can be taught. Physicians would promote health through education. It is not too much to say that civilization cannot develop without schools.

Education and social stability. Since improvement cannot go on without education, it is clear that social stability is

likewise dependent upon it. The very perpetuation of the group depends upon the instruction of each member in the common knowledge, customs, and ideals of his people. This is true in a very simple social organization, such as is found among savage and barbaric people. It is especially true in a complex civilization such as ours, where the unifying elements of face-to-face contacts are impossible. We cannot know many of our fellow citizens. The strength of a group lies in its unity. Though we are removed by hundreds of miles from many of our fellow citizens, we must think much as they do and act much as they do. We must have the same ideals. We must take pride in the same traditions. It is the special function of the school to develop this essential like-mindedness.

The tendency toward specialization has been one of the prominent features in the progress of humankind. It is found now in every industry, trade, and profession. It is only natural to expect that specialization would extend to education. As a consequence of its doing so there has been evolved the institution called the school and the profession called teaching. It would be a very inefficient society that would trust to incidental and casual experiences to train the youth in the ever-increasing knowledge and skill which modern times demand.

Specialization in education has been developing for ages. In the most primitive social system there was no formal teaching. Children learned through observing the activities of others and through accidental circumstances. In a later and more advanced stage, education came to depend upon the family. Just as the elders passed down to their descendants property in agricultural implements, fishing gear, weapons of war and chase, and cooking utensils, so they handed down to them items of information concerning the seasons, the habits of game, and their personal feelings and

experiences. Education next passed to the elders of the tribe, and in a later and higher stage of culture to religious, industrial, and caste guilds. The final and last stage was when the business of education was put into the hands of a group specially trained in the content and technique of teaching.

The State and education. As we have stated, the improvement of society always begins among reflective thinkers, and then spreads outward by means of education. Teachers may make the future of society about what they please. Nevertheless, their efforts are either limited or reinforced by the prevailing form of social and political organization. It is very unpleasant to work under a strict and despotic controlling agency. An autocratic State may so circumscribe the actions of teachers that the more forceful and ingenuous will forsake education altogether.

Teachers in this country are very fortunate in having a liberal form of political organization in which to work. The controlling agency, the State, is itself a democratic institution. Our State system of school organization gives us a wonderful variety and flexibility. Between what the law requires as a minimum and what it is possible to do, there is a wide margin. Within this broad area the individual teacher and the school may exercise a large freedom. There are always present many opportunities to use initiative, and to work out new and better ways of doing things. Our social system is also such that liberal recognition is given those who make contributions to educational theory and practice.

Another advantage in educational work in the United States exists in the fact that it is virtually public service. This adds a dignity and an importance to teaching not found in almost all other vocations. In many communities, the teacher stands as the chief and only representative of the

State. She has an official status comparable to the military, titled, and State-Church dignitaries of many European countries. There is much honor in being chosen to typify the principles of a great and growing democracy — an honor almost wholly lacking in a weak, tyrannical, and declining State or institution.

The era of the teacher. So great has the dependence of civilization upon education become that this has been called the era of the teacher. It also signifies a growing confidence in education as a means of advancing the common weal. This fact gives teachers an added opportunity. They have a chance, as no other profession has ever had, to voice to the people their own ideals and to help them in the realization. They have a chance to shape human destiny, not after the old order of selfish struggle and competition, but after the new order of sympathy and coöperation. In this era the right of teachers to public esteem and faith is really being put to the test.

Some evidence of the improved status of teachers to-day may be obtained by contrasting the present with the past. The ancient Greek regard for the profession may be indicated by quoting the saying when any one had mysteriously disappeared — "Perhaps he has become a schoolmaster." Lucian contented himself for the tyranny of kings by reflecting that after death they would have to maintain themselves in hell by teaching reading and writing. Luther pronounced the schools of his times "veritable hells," and the schoolmasters tyrants. Yet he also declared that "teaching is of all occupations the noblest and the best," and gave up the lifelong ambition of his family for him to become a minister in order that he might take up teaching. Teaching to him meant opportunity.

Professional beginnings. As late as the American Revolution the condition of teachers was most abject and miser-

able. A *dolérance* presented to the States-General of France declared, "The more service we render the community the more we are degraded." In Provence, teachers attended fairs in order to find a market for their abilities. Their services were often sold on the auction block to the highest bidder. Writing on the status of teachers at this period, Compayre said:

They lived in wretched conditions without material independence and without moral dignity. The schoolmasters were far less teachers than sextons, choristers, beadles, bell-ringers, clock-makers, and even grave-diggers. Attendance at marriages was paid for at the rate of fifteen sols and dinner, while burial services were recompensed at the rate of twenty sols.

Yet there were many in the early days who spoke in appreciation of the worth of teachers. The Talmud calls them the true guardians of the city. Alexander declared he owed more to Aristotle, his teacher, than to Philip, his father. Goldsmith, writing in 1759, mingles the bitter with the sweet as follows:

Of all the professions in society I do not know a more useful or a more honorable one than a schoolmaster. At the same time I do not see any more generally despised or whose talents are so ill-rewarded. I would make the business of schoolmaster in every way more respectable by increasing their salaries and admitting only persons of proper abilities.

Opportunities in teaching. A contemplation of the past in respect to the status of teachers must help to reconcile us to the present. The opportunities are far greater. We have far more positions, for one thing. The material compensations are better. There is greater choice allowed in selecting one's specialty. There are also advantages on the qualitative side. More is demanded of the teacher in the way of training, personal qualities, and in service. Teachers are supported by other institutions. Moreover, there are many

related opportunities being opened up. Writing, lecturing, and social work may be cited as examples of these side-lines of teaching. Something may be seen as to the number of positions, compensation, and kinds of opportunities open in teaching by considering the following facts, taken from the school report of a city of about 12,000 people:

POSITIONS	COMPENSATION
1 Superintendent.....	\$6000
1 Elementary-school supervisor.....	3000
1 Art supervisor.....	2500
1 Music supervisor.....	2500
1 Director of physical education.....	2500
1 High-school principal.....	3600
1 Night-school principal.....	1800
2 Junior high-school principals.....	2400
5 Elementary-school principals.....	2000
20 High-school teachers.....	1500-2400
25 Junior high-school teachers.....	1500-2200
50 Elementary-school teachers.....	1350-1800
5 Evening-school teachers.....	1200
1 Visiting teacher.....	1600
2 Special-class teachers.....	1600

Total number of positions 117, or one to every 110 people in the city.

The number of positions. Statistics on the number of teachers in service in this country are not very reliable. Figures given are usually below the actual number. The data in the table on page 7 are from the latest Report of the United States Bureau of Education, and may be taken as a conservative estimate.

It is worth remarking that about one half of all the teachers are found in rural and village schools. Only a little over ten per cent of the total number are found in high schools. Nearly ninety-eight per cent of the teachers are in public schools. The overwhelming importance of the elementary

GROUPS	MEN	WOMEN	TOTALS
All elementary and high-school....	105,194	545,515	650,709
City teachers.....	25,063	216,319	241,382
Rural and village teachers.....	80,164	329,196	409,160
Teachers in high schools (87.2 per cent).....	28,005	53,029	81,034
Teachers in private high schools...	5,411	8,788	14,199
Teachers in business schools.....	2,310	2,930	5,240
Summer school instructors.....	7,472	4,488	11,960
Summer school lecturers.....	1,331	431	1,762
College instructors.....	29,509	7,013	36,522
Normal school instructors.....	2,445	4,892	7,337
Teachers of the blind.....	183	359	522
Teachers of the deaf.....	410	1,411	1,821
Teachers of the feeble-minded....	165	1,545	2,210
Teachers of the delinquent.....	482	685	1,137

school and of public control is obvious. These conclusions are also clear from an examination of the number of pupils in school attendance in the various departments:

DEPARTMENT	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTALS]
Kindergarten.....	481,266	29,683	510,949
Elementary.....	18,897,661	1,485,561	20,383,222
Secondary.....	2,201,278	229,046	2,430,324
Totals.....	21,580,205	1,744,290	23,324,495

These data on school enrollment only partially portray the real magnitude of the problem of education. The pupils in school are a little less than two thirds of the number who are of school age. There is quite a pronounced tendency to extend the compulsory school laws to take in a larger pro-

portion of the pupils of school age. The completion of four years in high school is in some instances being prescribed as the minimum. In some States pupils who have reached the age of eighteen without completing the high school are compelled to attend part-time schools if they drop out of day schools. There is a marked feeling that all illiterates, regardless of age, must become subject to compulsory school laws. Again, is the feeling, no less marked, that aliens must pursue courses at night school. Leaving aside any compulsory features affecting illiterates and aliens, the fact remains that both of these groups are coming in increasing numbers to our schools.

Therefore, instead of a school population of about twenty-three million or one fifth of our population, the number may shortly be swelled to thirty-five million or one third of our population. This is apart from the normal increase due to population growth, and also exclusive of those adults who have a fair degree of education, but turn voluntarily to extension and evening school opportunities. The growth of education in both of the last-named fields has been nothing short of phenomenal since the close of the World War.

Moreover, any increase in the holding power of the school will have the effect of increasing the demand for teachers. Fewer than one fourth of the pupils of kindergarten age are in school. Fewer than forty per cent of the pupils of the age group corresponding to the junior and senior years of high school are in attendance. Better schools, better school laws,

AGE GROUPS	NUMBER	PER CENT NOW IN SCHOOL
5- 6 years.....	4,686,154	41.0
7-13 years.....	15,306,793	90.6
14-15 years.....	3,907,710	79.9
16-17 years.....	3,828,131	42.9
18-20 years.....	5,522,082	14.8

and better school law enforcement will inevitably result in larger school attendance. The difference between the potential attendance and the actual attendance may be seen from the table given above on page 8.

Illiterates and aliens. The age distribution of illiterates nearly reverses conditions shown in the preceding table. The larger group is composed of adults. There is brought in a new aspect of education. However, it should be a temporary problem only. With an earnest, concerted effort for a few years, illiteracy should be wiped out. Our immigration laws now forbid the entrance of illiterates from other countries. Our schools should be effective enough to see that every child who is capable of learning should be able to pass a standard literacy test. Nevertheless, while illiteracy lasts, there is a fine opportunity for the exercise of leadership, organizing ability, and teaching skill. In some of our States one third of the adult population is illiterate. The total number, by age groups for the whole country, is as follows:

AGE GROUPS	NUMBER
10-15 years.....	292,467
16-20 years.....	306,327
21 years and over.....	4,333,111
Total.....	4,931,905

The Americanization problem is also of temporary importance. Our regulation of immigration is becoming much stricter. More and more pressure is being brought upon the alien group to become naturalized as soon as possible. The need of special schools for foreigners will doubtless almost entirely disappear in a few years. On the other hand, there is a likelihood that both the native and the foreign-born groups will continue their demands for evening schools. We have practically given up the idea that any one can

possibly finish his education. In many cases it is more economical, and almost always more satisfactory, to carry on one's continuation education in a modern evening school than to "go it alone."

Notwithstanding our restrictions on immigration and our pressure on naturalization, we still have many aliens in the country. The last census enumerates a little over five million. It is well to note that the percentage of illiteracy among this alien group is not so great as among the native-born. Illiteracy among the negroes is mainly responsible for the poor showing we make. The important point is that the illiterate group and the alien group are not duplicates. Counting all who may be adjudged proper subjects for education — children, illiterates, and aliens — we have no less than thirty-five million people. If these people were put in classes of thirty-five pupils to the class, it would require one million teachers to instruct them. This is the minimum number of teachers we ought to have in service now.

Types of opportunities. The types of opportunities may be variously classified. We may group them as public and private, according to the means of support and control. They may be classified on the basis of departments, as kindergarten, elementary, secondary, higher, and special. Or again they may be grouped as rural, village, and city. Still another division may be made according to the type of duties performed by the teachers. These are supervisory, administrative, instructional, and special.

In addition to these well-recognized types of school service, many new forms are constantly developing. There is now a splendid field in education for research specialists. The growth of the technique of testing has brought with it a demand for competent people to administer the tests and interpret the results. The growing interest in physical education has created many new opportunities. The demand

for teachers who can help in the improvement of the curriculum is on the increase. The management of the enlarged social programs calls for trained and efficient directors. Every city needs an expert on buildings and another on school finance. Every educational improvement creates a need for trained men and women to use it, and to teach others to use it.

Related activities. As education grows, it promotes many related vocations and industries. There is now a fine field for school nurses, school physicians, school dentists, and school architects. There is a field for writers and publishers of school books. Hundreds of people give their time to the manufacture and distribution of school equipment and supplies. The school directly furnishes employment to hundreds of clerks, secretaries, janitors, and engineers. About one dollar out of every hundred in our income goes into education. There is not another five dollars that buys so much of things that touch vitally the welfare of people, nor gives benefits which are so widely distributed.

The field of education is therefore broad enough and significant enough to contain something within it that appeals to the interests and abilities of all intelligent people. Not only are there numerous opportunities, but they are of great variety. One may instruct children, youth, or adults as he, or she, prefers. He may choose any field of useful knowledge and find a demand for his instruction. He may specialize or he may distribute his learning over a wide field. He may supervise the work of others or he may devote his energies to executive duties. He may spend his working days in research and in writing, or he may become a vocational counselor or a director of social activities. Within all these fields there is continual change, new problems, new demands, and always opportunities for growth and service.

The material rewards of teaching. The discussion of specific problems of salaries and pensions is deferred to later chapters. At this point the teacher's compensation is considered only as a possible incentive. We have no high-salaried positions at all comparable with those in rail-roading, banking, insurance, and commerce. There are, however, a large number of well-paid positions. Teaching compares very favorably in this respect with other forms of public service. Several university presidencies pay as much as twenty-five thousand dollars a year. City superintendents, normal-school and college presidents, and professors in the better universities draw from six to twelve thousand dollars a year. Most of the people in these positions, however, get salaries of from three to six thousand dollars. This range also includes most State school officers, and the specialists in the United States Bureau of Education.

Promotion is almost certain to any one who has sufficient talent, training, and ambition to strive for it. There is no profession in which one may advance more rapidly. County and State superintendencies are being removed from politics and opened to merit alone. Larger school plants and larger school systems mean more desirable administrative and supervisory positions. Research specialists usually command high salaries. Authorities concede that before one is fitted for the better-paying positions he or she should have had several years of experience in actual teaching. Thus principals may be chosen from heads of departments or from successful teachers. Supervisors come from among the more enterprising of the rank and file of teachers and principals. The best superintendents have served their turn in subordinate positions.

Opportunities in foreign countries. Until recent years we have given practically no attention whatever to education in other countries. For the first time in our history there is

now a university department devoted to the study of international education. For over a half-century European universities have supplied educational leaders to the rest of the world. The World War has almost totally destroyed their former efficiency in higher education. Their whole school system has been injured to such an extent that they are compelled to build anew. The foundation must be laid in elementary and secondary education. These nations will have to depend upon other countries for trained teachers. There is none so well prepared to supply them as the United States. This is not an opportunity that offers large financial rewards, but it does offer superior advantages for professional service and unparalleled opportunities for extending American influence and American ideals.

The reorganization being attempted in foreign countries is generally along democratic lines, and therefore takes forms to which we are accustomed. The old theory of class education has been largely eliminated, along with other mediæval ideas. Practically the whole of Russia is at school. The program there calls for the elimination of illiteracy in five years. Every one who can teach is being enlisted. While the leaders will doubtless be disappointed in their expectations, no people have ever made so much progress in so short a time and in the face of such obstacles. In China progress also waits upon the coming of the teacher. Statesmen of that country realize that nothing else can restore political and social stability, unify the diverse elements, and instill the proper attitude toward improvement.

Excellent educational opportunities are even closer at hand. Business men have long looked upon South and Central America as fruitful fields for commercial expansion. In almost all of these countries educational reorganization is under way. Abundant resources for the maintenance of an efficient national system of schools could be made available.

The great need is for wise programs and efficient leadership. Probably the growth of international friendship can be hastened in no other way better than through unselfish coöperation in education.

Opportunities associated with teaching. Reference has already been made to occupations other than teaching dependent upon education. There are also many side-lines which may prove productive to the teacher without impairing her teaching efficiency. Writing may be given as a good example. The teacher may both enhance her professional reputation and her teaching skill by writing the product of her experience, study, and observations. There is always a demand for new ideas in methods and content. There is always a demand for good textbooks. More of them should be written by teachers who are in daily contact with the practical problems. Something of the number of books needed each year may be seen by referring again to the table giving the number of pupils in school each year. Many textbook writers have been able to make welcome and substantial additions to their salaries through the sale of their books. Occasionally some one is pointed out who has made a fortune from his educational publications.

The usual school subjects do not offer the only opportunities. New books are needed as educational changes take place. The field of adult education has scarcely been touched. Fifty thousand copies of a recent book in the general field of education were sold in five years, with a net profit to the author of fifteen cents a copy. While professional books are not usually so profitable to the author as high-school and grade texts, they are often more useful in giving him a reputation. In addition to the professional field, there is open the whole range of general literature — newspapers, magazines, and novels. English teachers especially should be attracted by the opportunities in writing,

and the practice gained should add materially to their worth as instructors.

Other opportunities. A second type of opportunity is found in lecturing. University teachers who develop specialties may often add a thousand dollars or more a year to their income. The opportunity comes in some degree to every teacher. The main thing is to be ready for it. Success is worth years of denial and effort. It is not deserved and seldom realized without hard work and wise use of leisure time. The teacher should prepare herself as well as she can for something more than the daily routine. She should get something out of courses in public speaking. She should further improve herself in this line after she commences teaching, then she should take advantage of every chance that comes along to practice her art.

Service opportunities are more numerous in teaching than in any other field. The teacher's activities are not limited to instruction in the subjects of the curriculum. She may give personal guidance of a moral, social, civic, and vocational nature. How many successful people there are who give some teacher credit for having supplied them with the motive and the counsel to develop themselves. It is a worthwhile achievement to shape the destinies of girls and boys.

There are also plenty of opportunities for social service that go beyond the doors of the school. Waiting upon the sick, helping the unemployed to find work, encouraging the down-hearted, and stimulating some one to higher and better effort are good illustrations. In performing her required duties, as well as in these voluntary community services, the teacher can make loyal friends. They are a source of pleasure and of strength. Usually people owe more of their success to their friends than to their own abilities. This is a door to opportunity that need never be closed to teachers.

Summary. Teaching is preëminently a social-service profession. The principal reason for teaching is not for the material compensation, but for the opportunity to share in the advancement of human welfare. Teaching appeals to the social-minded as distinct from those who find pleasure in dealing with things. Society depends upon education for its perpetuation. It depends upon education for its advancement. Education has become more vital to social welfare as society has become more complex. As education has become more essential, the status of the teacher has been improved. To-day there are almost unlimited opportunities for large educational service in our own and in foreign countries. More teachers are needed each year, and new types of positions are being created. While large salaries are lacking, there are many positions that pay well. Promotion is almost certain for the professionally competent. In addition to the opportunities in teaching as such, there are related opportunities in writing, lecturing, and social work.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. On a scale of five steps, rank teaching in comparison with other professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, the ministry, and journalism. Consider such points as training required, salary, promotion, security of tenure, public confidence, associated opportunities, and opportunity for service. Compute the average of the ranks assigned. On the basis of your findings, what are the leading reasons which impel people to go into teaching?
2. Why is the old guild system of apprentice training impracticable at present in this country?
3. Discuss the truth of the statement that teachers can make the future what they please.
4. Compare the relative advantages of State and Church control of education, from the point of view of social efficiency. From the point of view of satisfaction in teaching.
5. Why is it considered a good thing to have a fairly flexible system of educational organization? Is there sufficient margin left for the initiative and personality of the teacher to assert themselves under typical rural and city school conditions? Why?

6. Is it true that the status of the teacher is no higher than the regard with which education is held? Discuss.
7. Suppose that a county school system were organized somewhat after the manner of an efficient city system. What would be the effect upon teaching opportunities?
8. Refer to the latest statistical report of the United States Bureau of Education, and report on the number of teachers needed in the various departments of the secondary schools, such as academic, commercial, home economics, agriculture, and manual arts. Of what value are such figures to teachers and to prospective teachers?
9. Suppose you are called upon to offer educational and vocational guidance to your pupils. What type of person would you urge to go into teaching? What reasons would you give? How could you give them an opportunity to try themselves out?
10. Account for the usual shortage in teachers for new types of school work and for special lines. There is also often an oversupply in conventional lines, though it may be merely local.
11. Discuss teaching in foreign countries as a form of Americanization service.
12. Compare education with some of the other vocations, in variety of opportunities. In its associated opportunities.
13. Why is it a good thing for any profession to have several highly paid positions in it?
14. Discuss teaching as an opportunity for making friends.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The training required. If the teacher is to realize the opportunities which are open to her, she must be properly trained for the profession. As the matter now stands, teaching compares unfavorably with other professions in the amount of training required for entrance. Law, medicine, and engineering commonly demand five years of preparation beyond a four-year high-school course. There is a tendency to extend the requirements to three years of professional work beyond the baccalaureate degree. Of course, practice lags quite a way behind the standard. The "back door" is open to these professions, as well as to teaching. The diploma mills have ground out many credentials for these professions, and large numbers have also taken the examination route to obtain a certificate to practice. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is still possible for doctors, lawyers, and preachers to use teaching as a means of livelihood long before they are legally qualified to enter their own profession.

Requirements for entrance to the teaching profession vary widely in the different States. Where the highest standards prevail, high-school teachers are required to take one year of graduate work in a recognized college or university. Elementary-school teachers must have graduated from a two-year standard normal school. Where the lowest standards prevail, about all that is necessary in order to secure a teacher's certificate is the ability to read, write, and work simple problems in arithmetic. An attractive personality and a little political influence are often more potent than

training. Where the examination method is in operation, education in the sense of formal school training is not an essential at all. There is no State where a teacher may not obtain a certificate on examination. Even in the States and cities which profess high standards, it is often possible for the board of education to certificate whom it pleases.

Average requirements. Between the lowest and highest standards every degree of teaching efficiency is represented. We are on the up-grade, however. In 1911 Coffman wrote on *The Social Composition of the Teaching Population*. In this work he described the average teacher. If a man, he had spent three years in school above the elementary grades: the equivalent of the junior year in high school. If a woman, she had given four years to training above the elementary school: that is, she was a high-school graduate. To-day we find that the average city elementary-school teacher has finished a two-year normal school course. The average city high-school teacher is a college graduate. In the rural and village schools the amount of formal training averages about a year less in each department. To illustrate, a few figures are quoted from the *Grand Rapids School Survey* (1916).

It will be seen from the table that sixty-four per cent of the elementary-school teachers of Grand Rapids had had two years or more training above the high school. Over seventy-five per cent of the high-school teachers in the academic department had college degrees. The rather poor showing made by the high-school teachers of Grand Rapids is explained by the fact that about two thirds of them were teaching special subjects. The special training many of them have received is probably in most cases the equivalent of the training which a college graduate obtains in his major subject. In general, when years of training are compared with years of experience, it is found that the more experience teachers have had, the less training they have had. The

NUMBER OF TEACHERS POSSESSING DIFFERENT AMOUNTS OF EDUCATIONAL TRAINING

GRADE	NUMBER	HIGH SCHOOL ONLY		NORMAL SCHOOL		COLLEGE DEGREE	SPECIAL SCHOOL
		Part	Whole	1 year	2 years		
8.....	27	1	6	3	13	2	0
7.....	41	1	9	4	26	3	0
6.....	45	1	7	11	21	5	0
5.....	47	2	7	8	28	2	0
4.....	52	2	3	5	38	2	0
3.....	61	4	3	4	45	3	1
2.....	46	0	5	8	33	0	2
1.....	55	3	9	14	20	1	8
9-12....	241	10	12	15	63	91	63

conclusion is that the profession is insisting upon higher qualifications for entrance now than formerly.

Still the fact remains that even in large city schools we have many teachers who have had little or no professional training. The following figures, taken from the *San Francisco Survey* (1918), may be cited as evidence:

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN SAN FRANCISCO

	ELEMEN- TARY- SCHOOL TEACHERS	HIGH- SCHOOL TEACHERS	SPECIAL TEACHERS
No training above the elementary school.....	15	1	
No training above the high school.....	108	2	1
First year normal.....	337	0	1
First year college.....	6	2	1
One year of business college.....	8	4	0

The same facts may be seen by examining the reports of State Superintendents of Public Instruction. In the State of Oregon, in 1918, about twenty per cent of the teaching force had had three years of high-school training or less. Three per cent had completed the eighth grade only. Thirty per cent were high-school graduates only. Another thirty per cent had completed from one to two years of normal-school work. The remainder had had from one to four years of college and university training. For the country as a whole we find about thirty thousand students completing a two-year normal-school course every year. We need about one hundred thousand new teachers every year. Therefore about two thirds of the new group are believed to lack adequate preparation.

The training necessary. However, no one is able to tell us just how much training is necessary. Those who believe that social efficiency is the aim of education claim that teachers should receive enough training to enable them to discharge their duties at the maximum efficiency. Those who take the narrow personal view of the matter state that the training the teacher receives should be dependent upon the salary she may normally expect. If one year of normal-school training will yield as large a return on the investment as two, then one year is all that she is justified in taking.

The second position on the question is untenable from every point of view. In the first place, one does not consider the investment feature when entering a profession. Moreover, if the second basis were accepted, we should be under the necessity of inducing some students to take more training than is justified by present salaries in order to lay claim to salary increases. Perhaps it points out that the State should advance the prospective teacher enough to pay for the requisite preparation. On the other hand, if this is not feasible, the second principle supplies us with a definite

basis on which to compute salaries commensurate with the investment in time and money in training.

The minimum training. In general, we may say that no one is prepared to tell us exactly the amount and the kind of training which best prepares for teaching. Under such circumstances, the only guide we have is the judgment of those who are authorities in education. Among these authorities there is agreement on the minimum training necessary. For elementary-school teachers this is two years in a standard normal school. For high-school teachers the minimum is graduation from a standard college or university, with twenty to thirty credits of professional work. Those who favor the elimination of all salary and training distinctions fix the minimum training for all teaching positions at four years above the high school.

Many doubt, however, whether four years of the type of training now offered is necessary or even desirable. There is also some point to the argument that if training courses were well adapted to the actual needs of the students, two years for elementary-school teachers would be sufficient. The argument for two years more of training for high-school teachers is based upon the belief that they need to master considerably more subject-matter. This belief has been strengthened with the extension of the high school to include the junior college. At the same time, the tendency to combine junior college departments with teacher training in normal schools provides just the type of change needed to articulate the normal school with the university and the college. The position taken here is not opposed to four years of college training for elementary-school teachers. Nevertheless, it is held that we have no conclusive evidence that it is worth while to extend the training period this far. It is better at this juncture to set down a reasonable minimum standard — say two years — leaving it to the future

to increase the minimum in the light of experience and investigation.

Why teachers in service should be interested. At first thought the problem may be considered as of slight importance to teachers already in service. As any new requirements which may be adopted cannot be made retroactive, why should teachers already certificated care particularly what is done? That the matter is of vital importance to all, the following reasons show:

1. High standards for entrance render the positions of teachers now in service more secure. When it is easy to get a certificate to teach, every little financial flurry brings hordes of people into teaching and into competition with teachers already established. Most of the newcomers do not care for more than temporary employment. They want to be tided over an emergency until they can get back into their former occupation, or finish their training for another vocation. Salaries are forced down, ethics are disregarded, and the whole profession is brought into disrepute by incompetent comers and goers. There is no hope for professional efficiency and security when low standards, based upon the idea that any one can teach, are in force.
2. Teachers with high ideals of social service cannot fail to be concerned about the maintenance of high standards among their own group. Social efficiency can in all reason be but little higher, and will normally be lower, than teaching efficiency. This is equivalent to saying that the stream of progress cannot rise higher than its source, which is education.
3. Society depends mainly upon teachers to enlist new recruits for the profession. They cannot select wisely nor guide clearly unless they know both the kind and the amount of training to suggest to a given individual. This means a consideration both of the capacity and interests of the individual, and of the social requirements.
4. The fourth reason is in some measure a combination of the others. Scarcely a year goes by but that there are too many teachers trained for special kinds of work. Locally, at least,

there may be too many English teachers, too many history teachers, or too many primary teachers. The consequences of overproduction are evils of competition, unemployment, and disappointment. To guard against this situation arising, reliable figures on the probable needs in various positions ought to be put before teacher-training authorities. They could then advise and direct students to prepare for positions in demand. The task should be undertaken by the United States Bureau of Education, or by State Departments of Education. The beginning will probably have to be made by organized bodies of teachers.

The kind of training necessary. Tradition has been the prime factor in determining what kind of training teachers need. General courses have been the rule. The idea has been to prepare for teaching; not for the teaching of special subjects, special grades, and by special methods. Thus we find that, except for a larger proportion of professional courses, normal-school curricula are not so different to-day from the curricula of the past as might be supposed. To illustrate, compare the outline course of study of the first American normal school (1839) with the outline course of a modern normal school:

COURSE OF STUDY IN THE LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
NORMAL SCHOOL (1839)

1. Orthography, reading, grammar, composition, and rhetoric.
2. Arithmetic, algebra, geometry, bookkeeping, navigation, and surveying.
3. Writing and drawing.
4. Geography with chronology, statistics, and general history.
5. Physiology.
6. Mental philosophy.
7. Music.
8. State Constitution, and history of the United States.
9. Astronomy.
10. Natural history.
11. The principles of piety and morality.
12. The science and art of teaching.

One distinct sign of progress may be perceived. This is the tendency to break away from traditional courses and to plan a new program on the basis of detailed and systematic analysis of the teacher's job. The underlying principle here is found in the belief that the only courses which really prepare for teaching are those which are composed of the elements which the teacher uses in her vocation. This does not mean that other materials will be wholly ignored. It does mean that materials not directly related to the development of teaching efficiency will not be found in professional courses.

A very little progress has been made in the actual task of analysis. Almack (1921) compiled the duties of city superintendents from the rules and regulations of school boards. Whitney (1922), working with a class in school administration, made up a list of the duties of supervisors. Cubberley (1923) presented a detailed analysis of the job of the elementary-school principal, and gave specific directions by which the duties might be performed. Bobbitt has approached the problem by obtaining lists of objectives desirable for the school to attain.

Various methods suggest themselves for the study of the duties of the classroom teacher. One source is in the rules and regulations prescribed for teachers by school boards. A better source is the teacher herself. In order to get accurate information as to duties actually performed, and the time given to each, teachers should keep an accurate detailed schedule of their activities. This should cover a period sufficiently long to give a fair sample of the year's work. Such a record kept by the teachers for the first, middle, and last week of each term would give a fair working basis for conclusions. Another method, far less reliable than the preceding, is to have experienced teachers list the things which they believe every teacher ought to know. The topics below were gathered by this method:

WHAT THE CLASSROOM TEACHER OUGHT TO KNOW

1. How to use reference books, library catalogues, and readers' guides.
2. Sources of information concerning material taught in the common schools.
3. A definite body of information covering the range of the subjects she teaches.
4. A fairly complete repertory of methods and devices for teaching.
5. How to safeguard the health of the pupils while in school.
6. The chief ethical and moral problems of children.
7. Standard methods of organizing school government, and of a few accepted devices for dealing with discipline cases.
8. How to measure ability and teaching results.
9. How to make complete and accurate reports.
10. How to plan special programs and carry them out successfully.
11. How to read and speak pleasantly and correctly.
12. How to help make a course of study.
13. How to play a musical instrument or sing.
14. How to prepare graphic illustrations and how to letter.
15. How to play at least ten games.
16. How to direct at least two social activities or organizations.
17. How to get acquainted and make friends in the community.
18. How to get and keep coöperation.
19. What attitude to assume toward supervision by her superior officers.
20. What attitude to assume toward the teaching profession.

Another example may be given. A group of teachers, in analyzing the requirements for teaching, found three main headings under which they might be grouped: namely,

1. What the teacher needs to know.
2. What the teacher needs to know how to do.
3. What the teacher ought to be.

Knowledge requirements were obtained by listing the subjects in which the teacher is expected to give instruction. Skill requirements were determined from the State school

law and the official rules and regulations. Ideals and character requirements were arrived at by the use of the judgment of competent authorities. It was arbitrarily decided that a teacher should rank among the upper twenty-five per cent of the population in respect to these three requirements: knowledge of subjects, skill in performing teaching tasks, and ideals and attitudes. As worked out the following specifications were found, the study being limited to the elementary-school group:

I. What the teacher needs to know:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Reading. | 7. Geography. |
| 2. Language. | 8. Hygiene. |
| 3. Spelling. | 9. Penmanship. |
| 4. Arithmetic. | 10. Physical Education. |
| 5. History. | 11. Elementary Science. |
| 6. Civics. | 12. Music. |

II. What the teacher needs to know how to do:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Keep the register. | 6. Give first aid. |
| 2. Make reports. | 7. Use library. |
| 3. Supervise play. | 8. Coöperate with community. |
| 4. Supervise morals. | 9. Participate in games. |
| 5. Care for ventilation,
heating, and lighting. | 10. Teach subjects successfully. |

III. What the teacher ought to be:

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Coöperative. | 7. Tactful. |
| 2. Enthusiastic. | 8. Responsible. |
| 3. Prompt. | 9. Moral. |
| 4. Loyal. | 10. Kind and sympathetic. |
| 5. Progressive. | 11. Persistent. |
| 6. Neat. | 12. Energetic. |

Judging teacher-training institutions. The general rule holds that institutions which most clearly appreciate the special tasks of teachers and work most persistently to develop skill and understanding in the performance of these

tasks are the best. It is to be expected that teachers will guide their students toward the best schools. Of course, much will depend upon the interests and purposes of the student herself. As the matter now stands, there is considerable evidence that unimportant factors play a large part in their choice. This is well shown in the table below, which gives the reasons why students choose certain institutions for their training:

REASONS FOR CHOICE OF TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTION

	PER CENT
High educational standards of the schools.....	27.0
Location near home.....	23.0
Influence of other students.....	11.0
Opportunities for self-support.....	7.3
Influence of college alumni.....	6.8
Church connections.....	5.6
Families or relatives connected with school.....	5.5
High moral and religious standing of school.....	5.5
Social and athletic opportunities.....	5.1
Influence of field workers.....	2.5

The range covered by the list of items is comprehensive enough. The emphasis, however, is scarcely properly distributed. Prospective teachers should especially give more attention to the first. From the practical point of view one cannot overlook such matters as location, opportunities to make one's own way, moral and religious life, and social opportunities. In the way of supplementing the list and of analyzing some of the reasons a little further, a few additional items are presented below:

1. The educational standing of the department as well as the standing of the institution should be considered. Not all the departments of any school are of equal efficiency. The institution may rank high as a whole, and still have departments where instruction is of an inferior quality.
2. While the teachers will be the main consideration in selecting

a school, laboratory and library facilities should not be overlooked.

3. Do not neglect to investigate the success of the institution in placing its graduates in desirable positions. Some schools leave their students to shift for themselves. Others have well-organized placement or appointment bureaus. Avoid the first type.
4. Do not recommend a school simply because it happens to be near home.

Values in social activities. It is often desirable for a teacher in training to participate in social and athletic activities. There is a constantly growing demand for teachers who can direct dramatics, debate, athletics, and assembly programs. Calls come to appointment bureaus constantly for teachers who can lead clubs, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and the many other organized groups. Such activities are no longer to be regarded as extra-class or extra-school. They have as definite a place in the curriculum as arithmetic and grammar. Teachers who can take charge of such activities find it easier to get appointments. They usually command higher salaries and are more secure in their positions.

It is worth stating at this point that the theory that teachers are as a class unsocial and inclined to be "grinds" while in training is not borne out by the facts. They take an active part in school life, as is shown by the figures from one teacher-training institution.¹ See table on page 31.

Not only do teachers find ability in these activities useful in their professional work, but they can also be carried over into the out-of-school life of the teacher. Of the teachers reporting above, forty-eight per cent still engage in athletic sports, twenty per cent continue their earlier interest in music, and fifteen per cent participate in dramatics. The

¹ From an unpublished study by J. F. Bursch, Stanford University, California.

ACTIVITY	PER CENT PARTICIPATING	PER CENT ATTAINING LEADERSHIP	PER CENT OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN GENERAL PAR- TICIPATING
Athletics.....	72	63	33
Dramatics.....	52	41	7
Debate.....	30	49	9
Publications.....	20	57	5
Music.....	25	48	12
Literary societies.....	16	30	
Student Government..	9	83	
Department clubs....	7	20	18
Religious societies....	6	0	40
None.....	3		

avocations of from one to eleven per cent are made up of activity in art, journalism, politics, kodaking, religious duties, and club leadership. Evidently teachers have profited by training along these lines.

Values in various courses. That courses vary in their worth-whileness to teachers is an unmistakable fact. The differences in values may be due to the content of the courses. They may be due to the methods of presentation. They may also be due to differences in amount of effort put forth, the interest in the subject, and the varying abilities of the students. Before one can say definitely that one subject is of more value than another, he needs to know the importance of all the factors entering into the teaching situation.

One serious limitation to all the studies which have been made of the relation between subjects and teaching efficiency may be mentioned. It is the failure to distinguish between teaching efficiency in general and teaching efficiency in a particular situation. It is conceivable, for example, that

the history of education might be of slight value to a teacher of mathematics and of very great value to a teacher of history. By the same line of reasoning, a course in methods of teaching arithmetic might prove a wonderful help to the first teacher and be worthless to the second.

The first study of the contributions of various subjects to teacher efficiency was made by Professor Junius L. Meriam, in 1906. One might be justified in saying that he discovered that none of the subjects are associated very highly with teaching efficiency. The subjects he investigated are arranged in order of importance below:

Practice Teaching and Teaching Efficiency	.39
Psychology and Teaching Efficiency	.37
History of Education and Teaching Efficiency	.28
Method Courses and Teaching Efficiency	.29
Academic Courses and Teaching Efficiency	.22

Another valuable study was made by Professor F. L. Stetson, in 1922. Seventeen professional subjects were evaluated by 403 teachers by the method of assigning ranks. Teachers ranked as number 1 the subject that had helped them the most, and as number 17 the subject that had helped them the least. The findings may be seen from the table which follows:

RANKING OF TEACHING SUBJECTS (STETSON)

SUBJECTS	TIMES REPORTED	RANKS BASED ON MEDIAN RATINGS
Practice Teaching	276	1
Observation and General Method	219	2
Special Methods	140	3
Adolescence	69	4
Educational Psychology	274	5
Administration and Supervision	23	6
Secondary Education	215	7

SUBJECTS	TIMES REPORTED	RANKS BASED ON MEDIAN RATINGS
Child Psychology.....	107	8
Principles of Education.....	296	9
Educational Sociology.....	103	10
Mental Test.....	38	11
Philosophy of Education.....	67	12
Educational Measurements.....	52	13
Educational Hygiene.....	69	14
History of Education.....	309	15
Elementary Curricula.....	41	16
Comparative Education.....	21	17

There is not absolute certainty that the names of the course above meant the same thing to all of the teachers. Educational Measurements as taught ten years ago is not the same as Educational Measurements to-day. The mere name of a course does not reveal its content, nor the method by which it was taught. A good course in Comparative Education is doubtless better than a poor course in Educational Psychology. Nevertheless the method throws light upon the value of what was taught under the name of Adolescence, Principles of Education, and Elementary Curricula, etc., from the teacher's point of view. One can scarcely defend subjects in the professional curriculum which teachers have found of little service to them, especially if such subjects force out material of proved practical value.

Relation between grades and professional success. All the general studies which have been made reveal a high correlation between the grades made in school and later success. Foster found that successful Harvard men had made four times as many A's as were made by men chosen at random from the same class. Fifty per cent of the Wesleyan alumni who graduated with honors were found to be in

Who's Who, while only ten per cent of those who graduated without honors received that distinction. Of the graduates of the University of Oregon who were judged to have achieved success, only seventeen per cent made low grades. Of the unsuccessful, only twelve per cent made good grades.

The conclusions concerning scholarship and success in teaching are not so clear. Clapp (1915) and Moody (1918) agree that, while scholarship is a requisite, it does not insure success. One who makes high marks may not succeed in teaching; one who makes poor marks will usually fail. Knight (1922) found a negative correlation of .147 between normal-school marks and teaching success. Whitney (1923) reported a very slight positive correlation (.073) between school grades and teaching ability. The lack of correlation is significant only as it indicates the absence of value in the subjects themselves. The real problem of the teaching profession is to see that training courses are prepared that do train for teaching. High marks in these subjects would inevitably be highly correlated with real teaching success.

At least one very practical value in high marks can be given. They usually help teachers in obtaining appointments. Investigations show that normal-school and college teachers emphasize scholarship more highly than anything else in making recommendations. Beginning teachers are almost altogether dependent upon endorsements from their instructors for their positions. Hence the importance of making a good impression by means of scholarship is evident. Moreover, these early recommendations and the scholarship records often follow teachers throughout their whole teaching career.

Teacher-training principles. The generalizations which may be made on teacher training, from a survey of conditions and investigations, are somewhat conflicting and far

from complete and conclusive. It is a problem that merits more study by teachers in service than it has received. The principles below are only tentative. They should be regarded as acceptable only until further investigations point to the need of revision.

1. Standards for entrance to the teaching profession are too low. This is shown by a comparison with other professions, the needs of the times, and the ideals of the teachers themselves.
2. There is no agreement as to how much and what kind of training is best. There is agreement that the bases for calculating the needed training are the needs of society and the abilities of the individual, and not the investment feature or salary.
3. High standards for entrance are a protection to teachers already in the field.
4. Before training course of practical value can be planned, a detailed analysis of the teacher's job is necessary.
5. A well-rounded course for teachers should include participation in social activities.
6. With a wiser selection of teaching materials and methods, the correlation between school marks and teaching success may be vastly increased.

Summary. Requirements for teaching vary greatly throughout the country. So far as standards are recognized, it is believed that elementary-school teachers should have two years of schooling above the high school, and that high-school teachers should be graduates of a four-year college. Practice falls considerably short of this ideal. While many educators believe that four years of college work should be the minimum for all teachers, it may be seriously questioned whether this is desirable. It is more important that we improve the kind of training than it is that we extend the requirements. The job analysis necessary to a foundation for practical courses has yet to be made. At present the correlation between the subjects and teaching success is non-existent. The leadership in the improvement of teacher-training institutions should be taken by the

teaching profession. The problem is of first importance to the profession and to society.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain why requirements for entrance to the teaching profession are lower than in other professions.
2. Would increasing the training required of elementary teachers to four years above the high school result in a better type of person entering the profession? Discuss.
3. Point out the objections to basing preparation upon the salary basis: that is, to invest no more in training than one can get monetary return on.
4. Devise a plan whereby teacher-training schools might inform their entering students of the probable demands for teachers in the various types of public and private school positions.
5. Why cannot one reach reliable conclusions respecting the values in particular professional courses, when general efficiency in teaching is considered?
6. Prepare a plan for discovering: (1) what the elementary teacher actually does in the performance of her duties, and (2) the amount of time she gives to each.
7. Why should students take into consideration the appointment facilities of an institution before deciding to matriculate? Why is it advisable for a prospective teacher to consider also the salaries paid in the State where the institution is located?
8. Give as many examples as you can of teachers who have turned their skill and knowledge in social and athletic activities to good account.
9. Try to explain the apparent lack of connection between grades made in normal school or college and teaching success.
10. Think of the best, average, and poorest courses you have ever taken. Put down under each as many reasons as you can for your ranking them as you have done. Next try to pick out the elements that are common to all three or to two, such as teaching, content, interest, need for, effort, etc. As the last step rank these common elements in order, giving one to the most important, two to the next most important, and so on. If a considerable number do this, you may reach a conclusion concerning the relative values to ascribe to these various elements in determining whether a course is good or bad or indifferent.
11. Examine some professional book rather carefully, and estimate the percentage of material in it which is useful in increasing one's professional efficiency.
12. How do you explain the fact that practice teaching is usually found to make the greatest contribution to teaching success?

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CHAPTER III

THE SELECTION OF TEACHERS

The nature of the problem. Many new teachers are needed in the schools every year. Estimates have already been made that about one hundred thousand vacancies occur annually. This is about three times the number of students graduating from teacher-training institutions above high-school grade. Most of the vacancies occur because teachers are leaving the profession. Second in importance are the vacancies due to teachers being promoted to more desirable positions. Third, are the large number of new positions consequent on the growth of schools. In cities this expansion may take place very rapidly. The school population in some rapidly growing cities has increased as much as twenty-five per cent in a single year. The normal rate is about three per cent a year, and this is approximately the number of new positions opened. The fourth cause of vacancies arises out of the comparatively small number of teachers who fail of reelection.

There are two groups of interests at stake. First, there are the school authorities, whose duty it is to employ the best teachers they can secure. Second are the available teachers who naturally want to put their qualifications before the appointing authorities in as favorable a light as possible. The process which the school authorities follow in getting data on candidates, the activity of the candidates in presenting their applications, and, finally the appointment of those that conform most closely to the school standards, is what is meant by teacher selection.

Three types of active or potential applicants may be dis-

tinguished. First are the beginners. As most cities do not elect inexperienced teachers, this group will find its first opportunities in village and rural schools. Second are those experienced teachers who have failed of reelection. This must not necessarily be counted against them. It may, in fact, be a mark in their favor. While theoretically any vacancy is open to them, they are at a slight disadvantage, and may have to stand a demotion. The third group are those teachers who have voluntarily given up their positions to find more congenial and satisfactory teaching conditions. Closely allied with these are the great mass of teachers, already safely employed, but not averse to considering a new position if it means promotion. All are alike in that they will encounter the same types of election methods.

Election by the school board. At one time in our history teachers were uniformly selected and elected by the school board. Now this method is followed only in rural districts and in poorly managed city school systems. The method has nothing to commend it. In the first place, the board members are seldom competent judges of a teacher's qualifications. They seldom know what the requirements for the position should be. They may be easily influenced by factors that have no relation at all to the teacher's ability. Personal friendships, the wish of a leading citizen, or membership in a certain political party or in a certain church may decide the case.

Under such circumstances, outside forces are likely to control the appointments. If more than one position is to be filled, the members may compromise their differences by representing all parties. One member may exchange votes with another in order to get a relative elected. In a small city recently, where there were ten new teachers to elect, each member of the board was given the privilege of filling his share of the vacancies. In some instances, in order to

escape the charge of partiality to any particular church, equal representation is maintained in the teaching staff. Some school boards consider only the pictures of candidates. In other districts, the clerk virtually makes the appointments by presenting to the board only the applications which meet his approval.

The professional method of election. The professional method of election demands coöperation between the superintendent of schools and the school board. Nominations are made by the superintendent, and only after a careful searching out of the best talent he can find. The facts concerning the qualifications of each nominee are open to the inspection of the school board, and are part of the official records of the superintendent's office. Thus the basis of his endorsement is open to inspection at any time.

This is the only method of selection that assures properly qualified teachers. It is the best method for the teachers themselves, since they may know that personal or political "pull" or other type of undesirable influence has not been responsible for their selection or defeat. It is the only method that is fair to the children and to the people. The interests of both in the welfare of the school are too great to be imperiled by ignorance and chicanery. It is decidedly to the interests of the teaching profession, and the only way in which it can be maintained on an efficient and respectable basis.

Collecting data on candidates. The superintendent has two sources of information concerning candidates upon which he may rely. The first is the candidate herself. This is usually collected through the medium of the application and the examination. They may be both oral and written. The second source is in those references who are properly qualified to speak of the applicant's training, character, teaching ability, and personal qualities. These sources of

information may be supplemented by observations of the teacher at work, either by the superintendent or by his assistants.

Occasionally the information does not come to the superintendent directly from the candidate, nor from the references. An intermediate agency represents the teacher in such a case. This may be a commercial agency, charging the teacher as much as five per cent of her first year's salary for its services. Often it is the appointment bureau of the training institution which the applicant has attended. In a few cases it may be a professional appointment bureau organized by the State Teachers' Association. The customary fee of the last two types of bureaus is usually very small. The agency or bureau acts as a clearing-house, gathering facts from many sources concerning the candidates and the positions, and recommends or refers to the superintendent those that seem most suitable for the particular school. In other words, the selective process has already commenced by the time the superintendent is reached.

Often the superintendent supplements the information he gathers from the teacher and her references by special examinations. There is an appearance of fairness about the methods that is most convincing to the layman. Lists of questions may be prepared by professional people, unconnected with the school system, and the papers may be read and graded by impartial outside individuals. The resulting marks are then arranged in order, and appointments made from those highest on the list. Sometimes the results of the examinations count one third or one half, and ratings from the references, applications, and the personal judgment of the appointing authority make up the remainder.

Two serious objections may be made to the first type of examination method. When the examination marks are

combined with ratings, another weakness may be admitted. In the first place, the examinations are probably not valid tests of teaching ability. The teacher who makes a good grade in arithmetic may not be successful in teaching arithmetic, and she may be a failure in discipline. Second, the examinations are not wholly reliable. Usually a wide variation will be found in the grades assigned the same paper by different persons, and the same person marking the same paper at different times will also assign varying values. In brief, all of the defects which exist in the typical school examination also exist in the teachers' examinations.

The third objection applies to the combining of marks and rating. There is no assurance that they are properly weighted. For example, why should one third be given to examinations, one third to references, and one third to the superintendent's personal judgment? Furthermore, assuming that the examinations were a perfectly accurate measuring device, the introduction of the personal factor, as in the use of references, would make it possible to manipulate the total grade in any way one pleased, and thus secure the appointment to the person most in the favor of the appointing authorities. Thus other influences than teaching ability might be responsible for one person being selected rather than another. On the other hand, the papers are graded by competent and disinterested persons, the same variability in marking enters into the marks of each, the applicants are usually known by a number only, and the assignment of values to the different elements entering into a rating, while perhaps not thoroughly scientific, is the same for all. The general result, then, is that any such well-conducted plan is almost certain to be superior to unaided snap judgment, which is the usual alternative, and the plan is being used increasingly as a means for sorting and estimating candidates, .

Kinds of information collected. A wide range of facts, judgments, and opinions concerning the applicants is usually collected. Some application blanks contain as many as fifty items. The number of questions asked references is usually few, because not many would take the time and the trouble to write answers to fifty questions. In general, the information called for in application forms may be classified as follows:

1. Personal data — facts concerning age, physique, citizenship.
2. Training — high school, normal school, university, and special courses. Degrees, departments, and often the names of instructors, if prominent in the educational world, may be specified.
3. Experience — amount, kind, dates of, and place. Other types of experience besides that of teaching are often called for.
4. Ability to teach special subjects or to direct social activities. This includes music, art, athletics, Boy or Girl Scouts, dramatics, and similar matters.
5. References — a list of the names and addresses of representative professional men and women who are competent to speak of the candidate's qualifications.

The principle is usually observed of getting as much data as possible directly from the applicant. She has a direct interest in the outcome, and therefore may be required to furnish replies to whatever questions the superintendent cares to ask. While it is theoretically true that there are no items that may not be worth while, there are many which should be excluded from the application. Among such items may be specified the types given below:

1. Matters of opinion and judgment concerning the applicant's own ability. For example, it is useless and unfair to ask a teacher whether she is a successful disciplinarian or not. Questions of this kind should be referred to the references.
2. Questions concerning the habits of the teacher. Some appli-

cation blanks ask the teacher whether she uses tobacco, dances, swears, and uses liquor. They have no place on any application form.

3. Questions concerning private and personal matters. These refer to political party affiliations, church membership, fraternities, and attitude toward public issues, such as prohibition and the League of Nations.
4. Questions in general that touch matters unrelated to teaching efficiency are of little importance. Among this type may be mentioned inquiries concerning the color of one's eyes, the politics or business of one's father, height and weight, and the like.

The references. Data from references are ordinarily collected on blanks sent out by the superintendent's office. Teachers may, as a rule, have no hesitation in giving the names of former teachers and supervisors as sources of information concerning their abilities. The professional-minded regard it as an obligation to attend to such correspondence faithfully and promptly. It is a type of professional service. The replies generally express nothing more than an opinion or a judgment. They do not possess the element of definiteness found in the application form. Usually they cover such points as the following:

1. Ability of the candidate to discipline or control a class.
2. Ability to instruct.
3. Moral character.
4. Personality.
5. Scholarship.
6. Willingness to coöperate.
7. Loyalty to the school.

The value of these credentials is conditioned by their reliability. For the most part, it cannot be said that they are very dependable. They are not so much a measure of the teacher as they are of the reference. Much depends upon his attitude toward the applicant, the length of time

he knew her, the amount of time he has to give to filling out the blank, his knowledge of the requirements of the position, and the strength of his memory. If a scientific rating on the teacher is accessible to the superintendent, it will prove far more valuable than any number of offhand estimates. Nevertheless, since such inquiry forms are in general use, a few suggestions concerning ways by which their reliability may be increased may not be out of place:

1. Only a few points should be centered upon. All unimportant and irrelevant questions should be omitted. Generally speaking, five to seven questions are sufficient.
2. The questions should be so framed that the answers are definite. The general letters which superintendent's inquiries often call for are nearly worthless, since they cannot be evaluated.
3. Answers may be made more definite by having the references indicate the degree to which the teacher possesses a given quality, such as ability to discipline. A five-point scale is sufficiently fine for this purpose. The so-called man-to-man system of rating is sometimes used, and while not perfectly reliable is undoubtedly better than the old type letter of endorsement which dealt chiefly in superlatives, either of praise or of condemnation.
4. A fair number of references should be consulted. It is often a good idea to call upon others than those listed by the teacher. The applicant will not knowingly give the names of references who will render reports strongly adverse. On the other hand, the sampling should be broad enough to make allowance for the prejudiced, either for or against.
5. Inquiries should also concern the candidate's fitness for a specific position, not for teaching in general. For example, one might recommend a candidate highly for a position as a teacher of a sixth grade, and not endorse her at all for a position as music teacher in the grades. The differences would be widened if one considers grade-school and high-school positions.

The personal interview. The technique of the personal interview has not been developed. Nevertheless many

superintendents insist upon it as a condition of giving a teacher further consideration. Very often applicants are put to considerable expense in order to meet this requirement. It is very doubtful if the superintendent is more successful in getting good teachers because of it, though he may be much better satisfied with the results. Like the examination, it is largely unreliable, though a few superintendents seem to develop remarkable skill in evaluating applicants. The only way to increase its reliability is to develop careful forms of test procedure, and perhaps also to extend them over a considerable period of time. Of course, several brief interviews would offer the same opportunity, and be even more dependable.

As the interview is usually carried out, the superintendent usually asks the candidate to give practically the same information as is contained in the formal application. Often one of the forms, perhaps the identical one filled out by the teacher, is before him for guidance. As the replies are given he is forming an impression of her voice, manner, personal appearance, and health. At the end of the interview a memorandum of the general impression of the superintendent is recorded on the application blank, or on a separate rating sheet.

The interview is often a test of the teacher's adaptability. She should face the issue squarely and sincerely. Superintendents are usually men of broad educational experience, interested in the welfare of the schools, and liberal-minded. They want the applicant to be at ease, and are anxious to give her a fair chance to make a favorable impression. The occasion is important, because it probably means the last step in the employment of a teacher — the most important duty the superintendent performs. There are few suggestions that will apply in all situations. The problem is more or less one of the adjustment of personalities. Each case is

to be treated as special. However, a few rules which have grown out of comments made by many appointing authorities, are appended herewith:

1. Do not hesitate to ask the superintendent a few questions about the school. Get him to talk about it. One of the complaints most frequently made by superintendents after interviewing teachers is that they are not interested in teaching. It is a part of your task to show that you are interested.
2. Answer such questions as he may ask briefly, clearly, and frankly. You do not have to show that you are a perfect teacher. Do not fear to admit your limitations when asked. On the other hand, you need not volunteer information concerning them.
3. Keep a practical outlook throughout. Do not profess an enthusiasm you do not feel, and do not gush over the children nor the opportunity in the teaching profession. At the same time do not be over-dignified.
4. Do not complain about the conditions in the last school in which you taught.
5. Do not be late in your appointment, and do not prolong the interview after the superintendent indicates that he has finished his questions.
6. Keep good-natured, even if you find you have missed the train, or if the questions you are asked and the comments made seem trivial. Spontaneity and good humor are nearly always evaluated favorably.

Special problems of the applicant. Beginning teachers will encounter several special problems in connection with the application. One of the first has to do with when to apply. Professional standards demand that no application be filed for a specific position until one has definite information that a vacancy exists. For prominent and isolated positions the information should be sought of the incumbents directly. For the rank and file of positions, inquiries should be addressed to the superintendent of schools. The time of inquiry is itself not important, except in poorly or-

ganized systems and in rural schools. For these, a month or two before the annual election is probably best.

In dealing with school boards outside of cities where the superintendent largely controls appointments, a personal application is often advisable. The members are accustomed to informal methods in business, and will give attention to the teacher who talks over the matter with them individually when they would give scant time to long letters. In the case of the city superintendent, the interview is usually at his request, but the teacher may unhesitatingly seek such interviews of her own initiative. When the school board is the selective and appointing agency, the teacher should usually take the initiative in arranging a conference.

Under such circumstances, rival applicants may be known to the teacher. She should avoid all discussion concerning their claims and merits. Moreover, she should take care to urge no other reasons for her own appointment than her fitness for the position. If one is questioned concerning church affiliations and political party membership, she should answer truthfully, without explanation or comment. Tact, courtesy, and good nature are fine assets in securing and in holding a position.

Where to apply. The teacher is often advised not to apply for a position in her home community. Regardless of her qualifications, it is maintained that she will lack school and community support essential to success. There is no point whatever to the matter as it applies to large cities. The person concerned, then, is the beginning teacher in the small city and the rural district. No general conclusion is justified. Other factors are far more important. Given a teacher of good training and ability and a good community, the fact that she happens to be well known there should not mitigate against her efficiency. Rather, the fact that her home is in the community should be a mark in her

favor. Given opposite conditions — a poorly trained and mediocre teacher and a community lacking in ideals — failure may be prophesied regardless of the place the teacher hails from.

There is one matter herein of vital importance. No teacher should accept a position in a school in which a near relative is one of the appointing officials. Of all dangers that our civic structure has to face, none is more insidious than nepotism. No teacher who realizes this fact will ever subject herself and her relatives to the embarrassment and criticism sure to result if her position is gained by direct family influence. Get a position on your own merits, and not through the pull or office of a relative, is a good rule to follow.

The open letter of reference. A third matter in which beginning teachers need guidance is the open letter of reference. It should never be used. To ask for one is a violation of professional ethics. To offer one to professional officials often imperils one's chances for appointment. It is embarrassing to a person to be asked for one. Usually he gives it reluctantly, if at all. They are very seldom reliable. While an occasional credulous and ignorant school board may be misled by them, intelligent people regard them as nothing more than a silly way of pampering the teacher's vanity.

The teacher should, however, unhesitatingly call upon others for assistance in getting an appointment. She may very properly ask for a letter of introduction. She may also ask former instructors, principals, and superintendents to write special letters in her behalf. It is quite the exception to find any one who does such a service unwillingly. These letters, being confidential, are viewed far differently by the appointing officer than the letters which have been inspected by the teacher.

The written application. The written application should

be carefully framed. See that the form is correct, that paragraphs are well organized, that words are spelled correctly, and that there are no grammatical errors. Write legibly, and neatly. Do not affect pink stationery. Put down essential facts: your training, experience, names of references, and personal items, such as age, height, and weight. When the letter is ready to mail, get some competent friend to proof-read it and correct any mistakes in structure or content.

Above all things be courteous and business-like. Write out the superintendent's name and title in full. Write a respectful salutation. Do not address him as "Dear Smith," or "Dear Supt." Do not condescend to flattery nor to abject humility. Do not praise yourself too much, nor tell how celebrated a family you come from. Do not try to impress him by a formidable list of references. Omit giving the names of the governor of the State and the mayor of the city as references. Give professional references, rather than ministers and friends of your family. Do not find fault with your present place of employment, or mention how glad you will be to get into a school where the teachers and the superintendent know something.

If he sends you an official application blank, fill it out and return it promptly. Supply all the information he asks for. Do not make caustic comments about the form he uses, nor tell him that in your judgment he has no need of some of the information requested. Many of the questions which appear on application blanks are proper subjects for mirth, but it is the best policy to enjoy them in private. The best thing to do is to treat the matter as a serious business proposition in which sincerity, promptness, and courtesy are desirable qualities to keep to the front.

The value in an intermediary agency. Appointment bureaus connected with teacher-training institutions can do

a very valuable service for teachers in connection with credentials. When the teacher graduates from a training institution, she can have the bureau collect letters of reference from her instructors. As she goes out into the field and gathers experience, she can ask the bureau to get similar letters from her supervisory officers. These may be sent out at a minimum of cost and of trouble from the bureau, as the teacher requests. Unless she gathers these credentials as she progresses in her career, she will find that she is unable to get letters from those who might have helped her most because of their death, or because she cannot find their addresses. Furthermore, letters written while the memory of the teacher is clear are more reliable. In time these form an excellent index to the efficiency of the teacher, and may be relied upon with confidence.

Other values in appointment bureaus may be indicated. They are able to bring a wider range of vacancies to the teacher's notice than she would find otherwise. This not only increases her range of opportunity for appointment, but multiplies her choice. The appointment manager can also offer many helpful hints as to the form and nature of applications, and advise the applicant on her conduct in the personal interview. The bureaus generally have a well-established clientele who select teachers directly upon the manager's recommendation.

Professional appointment offices. There is a tendency toward the establishment of professional appointment agencies. In seven States these are lodged in the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. In Massachusetts, the administration is in the hands of the State Board of Education. California has had, since 1920, a registration and placement bureau maintained by the State Teachers' Association. Kansas and Ohio also have bureaus under teacher management. Teachers are charged a single

fee of from two to seven and a half dollars. This is a marked contrast to the five per cent on the first year's salary, which is a standard charge by private commercial agencies. The estimate has been made that, in 1921, the teachers of California were saved forty thousand dollars by their appointment bureau, though the same year private agencies collected a quarter of a million dollars from the teachers of the State in commissions.

The Minnesota State Teachers' Employment Bureau may be given as an example of an appointment bureau under State control. It was established in 1913, and placed under the management of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. It costs a teacher three dollars to use the services of the bureau for a year. The overhead expenses are kept down to the minimum. During the seven years from 1913 to 1920, the bureau placed approximately twenty-five hundred teachers whose aggregate annual salaries equaled \$3,743,299. Five per cent commission on this total would have been \$187,164.95 — a pretty substantial saving to the teachers over what they paid the State bureau for its services for them.

Advantages and disadvantages of professional appointment bureaus. The argument is not all one-sided and in favor of public agencies, though. A good many criticisms have been addressed to them. The favorable and unfavorable comments on public and private agencies may be summarized, as follows:

1. State agencies excel because the managers know personally both the teachers and the positions.
2. A State bureau has the confidence of both teachers and school boards.
3. They are a great saving to the teachers directly and to the State indirectly. Teachers' salaries are meager enough, at best, without their being required to pay an enormous profit to private individuals for obtaining notice of vacancies.

4. They can be held accountable to the public for careful and honest management of their affairs.
5. They have been found very successful where tried out, especially those under the management of professional organizations.
6. The movement for public agencies is in accord with the general movement for democracy and efficiency in education.
7. Private agencies create vacancies in order to reap profits.
8. They recommend incompetent teachers, encourage applications for positions where no vacancies exist, solicit teachers under contract to apply for positions, and share commissions with superintendents and appointing authorities.
9. Political control is a likely danger in public agencies.
10. Private agencies must do good work in order to exist. They must recommend candidates whom they believe will make good.
11. Teachers are not required to pay a commission to the private agencies until they are placed. They have the privilege of considering positions, without the obligation of accepting those that are offered.
12. The principle is generally accepted that it is the duty of the State to train teachers. When this principle is pushed to its final conclusion, it means that the State has the further duty of providing school authorities with reliable information and means for procuring efficient teachers, and to help teachers find the field of service for which they are best fitted. In general, this should be done without cost to either the school or the teacher.

The profession and appointments. The teaching profession has other duties than the management of placement bureaus in the appointment program. The advice of teachers should be of inestimable value to superintendents in fixing minimum requirements for appointment, preparing application and reference forms, devising tests, and standardizing personal-interview procedure. A committee could also be of service in reviewing the credentials of applicants and in certifying recommendations to the superintendent. The action need not go to the length of naming specific can-

didates, but the committee might name several, any one of whom would merit further consideration by the appointing powers.

The first concern of teachers should be over the formulation of standards. These should be very carefully prepared. The efficiency of a school system can be pretty accurately gauged when one knows the requirements which applicants must meet for appointment. These should begin upon as high a plane as the finances, teaching conditions, previous practices, and educational ideals of the school authorities will permit. They should carry the idea of progressive advancement. Assuming a fairly progressive community, and an alert superintendent, the following may be set down as the minimum:

1. For the elementary schools, graduation from a standard normal school.
2. For the junior and senior high schools, graduation from a standard college or university. Professional courses to the amount of at least twenty semester units of credit.
3. A record of no less than two years' successful experience. To be counted "successful" to require a standing equal to the upper quartile among the teachers already employed.
4. A certificate that the applicant is in good health.

The program should also cover a number of other matters, more or less of the routine type. These would be found quite necessary in administering such standards as the preceding, and should consist of:

1. A set of application and reference forms, so drawn up that the data could be transferred to one of the regular rating forms in use by the school and evaluated on the same basis as the teachers already in the school system.
2. A complete filing set that would take care of the correspondence and credentials of each applicant.
3. A list of reputable intermediary appointing agencies.
4. A standard interview, designed to be supplementary to other

sources of data. This might be given by another person in the teacher's place of residence, and without the necessity of her appearing before the local superintendent.

5. Sufficient clerical assistance to guarantee that all correspondence with applicants is attended to promptly, and that replies are definite and complete.

Summary. One of the most important problems of the school is to fill teaching vacancies. The success or failure of the school is largely determined when this is done. In the old-type schools, the board constituted the appointing power. In modern schools, the duty of selecting teachers belongs to the superintendent. His decision should be based upon complete and accurate information concerning the candidates. It is advisable to seek good material, and not to confine choice only to those that apply. At the present time our methods of collecting data are not very reliable, and the teaching profession can perform a worthy service by helping perfect better application and reference forms. Beginning teachers often meet with special problems when securing a position. In general, the ethics of the teaching profession are a sufficient guide to their conduct. The teacher should in all cases make no appeal to special influence, nor ever advance political or religious reasons for her election. It will often be found convenient to use appointing agencies. If such is the case, the teacher should register only with one whose reputation for square dealing and efficiency is established. There is a tendency for teachers to establish appointment bureaus under the management of the professional association. In helping the superintendent in selecting applicants, the teachers' committee may be of use in drawing up standards for appointment, examining and appraising credentials, and devising forms and technique.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Give as many reasons as you can for saying that the most important duty the superintendent performs is the selection of teachers.
2. How can teachers help to convert an old-type school board to the idea that the professional method of appointing teachers should be followed?
3. Examine an application blank and reference form in use in some school. How many items of information are asked for? How many of these can be accurately measured or stated? How many are opinion? What changes would you make in the forms in order to improve them?
4. Make a study of the methods of some intermediary appointing agency. On the basis of this information, and any other which you can find, draw up a list of standards which teachers' agencies should meet in order to deserve the patronage of teachers and school authorities.
5. Point out the principal defects in the examination system as in use in many of the larger cities. Assuming that they are intelligently administered, what objections still persist? What are their merits?
6. Is it better to collect reliable and definite information of applicants on a small number of points, or to gather data, some dependable and some not, on a large number of traits and qualities? Discuss.
7. Most superintendents require candidates to submit photographs with their applications. What is the object in this? How much faith do you have that one can read from photographs whether the originals have teaching ability or not? What other values would photographs have?
8. Outline a method through which one could discover from pictures whether it is possible to determine teaching ability, or ability to sell goods, or to perform some other type of service.
9. Why should the appointing authorities obtain references from as many people who are qualified to speak concerning a candidate as possible?
10. What, in your own opinion, is the value of the personal interview in picking out desirable candidates? What fallacy exists here, similar to the one connected with the use of photographs?
11. How do you explain the fact that beginning teachers are usually advised not to accept their home school? Discuss the justice of such advice.
12. Point out as many reasons as you can why open letters of references should be disregarded in considering applicants.
13. How may appointment bureaus be of great service to teachers?
14. A superintendent induced his school board to adopt a regulation declaring that with the ensuing year the positions of all teachers in the elementary school who were not normal school graduates would be

come vacant, and that no new teachers should be hired who were unable to meet the standard. What was his purpose in this action? What mistake did he make? How should the matter have been handled?

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CHAPTER IV

ETHICS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Criteria of a profession. A profession seeks to use all the resources it can command for the benefit of society. It differs from a trade in that the monetary consideration is secondary, and, in the sense of expecting or insisting upon money rewards in proportion to the service performed, may be entirely overlooked. Unselfishness is one of its prime principles. Altruism is its prevailing spirit. Whenever the call for service comes, the professional-minded man or woman does not think, "Am I paid for this?" or, "Have I already done a day's work?" or, "Am I obligated in any way to concern myself with this person?" He or she cheerfully gives the fullest measure of strength and talent as the need demands. A profession is therefore social service. This point of view is well expressed in the following quotation:

The essence of industry is that its only criterion is the financial return which it offers to its shareholders. The essence of a profession is that, though men enter it for the sake of livelihood, the measure of their success is the service which they perform, not the gains which they amass. They may, as in the case of a successful doctor, grow rich; but the meaning of their profession, both for themselves and for the public, is not that they make money, but that they make health, or safety, or knowledge, or good law. They depend on it for their income, but they do not consider any conduct which increases their income is on that account good. And while a boot manufacturer who retires with half a million is counted to have achieved success, whether the boots which he made were of leather or of brown paper, a civil servant who did the same would be impeached.

While the service criterion is the most important one, there are others that should be noticed. A typical definition de-

clares that a profession is a vocation involving relations to the affairs of others of such nature as to require for its proper conduct an equipment of learning or skill, or both, and to warrant the community in making restrictions in respect to its exercise. When such restrictions are embodied in the laws of a State, the person meeting the requirements is held out to the community as possessing the qualifications contemplated by the law. Furthermore, the person who takes a certificate to practice his profession announces to the public that he may be trusted to give the service in his particular profession which the community expects. The sum total of the social expectations may be summarized as follows:

1. Efficient service wholly independent of the financial returns, or of the social and economic status of the persons served.
2. A high sense of individual responsibility that insures fidelity to the social interest, under all circumstances.
3. Knowledge and skill in a chosen field as a life-work.
4. Mutual dependence in devising ways and means of utilizing the professional heritage for the benefit of society.

The need of professional standards. The teachers of humanity must be actuated by high principles; otherwise, society will suffer. Standards are necessary, both as an inspiration and a guide. The professional man or woman is not independent. No one possesses an inherent right to teach. This right comes to him from society because he has demonstrated special fitness for the privilege. He assumes obligations to society and to his fellows to discharge his obligations faithfully. As a guarantee of good faith he subscribes to certain ideals and standards which serve several definite purposes:

1. To reveal the ideals of the profession to the public.
2. To bind members of the profession together, through a feeling of mutual confidence, respect, and esteem.

3. To raise the good within the profession and without to a level with the best.
4. To make clear to the neophyte in the profession the basis upon which success is attained, and upon which unprofessional conduct is to be criticized and corrected.
5. To set an example of professionalism that will carry over into other fields, and create within others the desire of emulation.

Ethical codes. When standards of conduct have been well established through custom, there is a value in putting them into written form. They may then be brought to the attention of novitiates, and are subject to easy reference by older members of the profession. Codes necessarily stand in need of revision, as new conditions arise and old ones disappear. On this account it is advisable to subject codes to frequent examinations to see if they are adapted to the times. A committee performing such service may also make additions and improvements in codes, even where conditions have not materially changed. It is not an easy matter to formulate the ideals of a large and growing profession within the compass of two or three pages, and, as experience in using a code grows, many opportunities for improvement will appear.

Other professions as well as teaching have devised codes of ethics. Law and medicine have been foremost in setting forth their standards. Engineering and architecture have followed their example. Only recently, public and social-service workers have framed their professional principles. Within less than a decade a meeting of representatives from all the professions has been called to "discover how to liberate the professions from the domination of selfish interest, both within and without." This is a tendency to recognize the common human element of service as a social obligation, from which no one is freed.

Many business men have also come to realize their sense

of personal obligation to maintain faith in the industrial world. They have come to believe that business, to be successful, must be carried on according to ethical principles. The National Association of Credit Men has voiced this belief in a code of business ethics. The Associated Advertising Clubs of the World have started a crusade for honesty in advertising. The Rotary Club, with its many international associations, has promulgated an ethical code which its members have pledged themselves to put into practice. They have, moreover, set themselves the gigantic task of creating a code of ethics for every trade, craft, and business among enlightened people. The time is at hand when one who does not accept his ethical obligations shuts himself out of the professions and out of the business world.

Ethical codes and general ethics. The term "ethics" is derived from the Greek word *ethos*, originally meaning custom and usage. This later came to mean disposition, or character, like the Latin word "moral," from *mores*. The ethical was thus derived from the customary. Customs, it is well to remember, are not merely habitual ways of doing things. They are ways approved by society. One who acted contrary to the ways of the group found himself under its severe disapproval. While ethics comprehends more than what is and what has been — the ideal, or what ought to be — yet one can never overlook the force of long-established canons of conduct.

Professional standards, then, are not distinctive, nor do they tend to separate teachers from social life. Rather, they are a strong unifying element. A professional code of ethics is made by selecting general principles of conduct from the social code, and applying them to the special problems with which the profession has to deal. When teachers' associations pick out these principles and adopt them, they are made more useful because they are written clearly, em-

phasized distinctly, and weighted with the authority of the group. On the whole, however, they will be sanctioned and will be effective only to the extent to which they repeat what all feel and all think.

The criteria of the ethical. No one can be a looker-on in this life. He is called upon compellingly and continuously to act. He must act either rightly or wrongly, either ethically or unethically. He must act either according to the ways which meet the approval of others and in ways which others act, or after modes peculiar to himself and hence in need of explanation. If he is intelligent, his conduct ought to be free and satisfying. It ought to be after some principle, and not whimsical and irrational. The why and what of each action ought to be clear to any observer of ordinary abilities. To help a person determine, in a general way, when what is done and how or why a thing is done are ethical, the following criteria are stated, slightly modified from Dewey's *Ethics*:

1. An act itself is ethical when the higher ideal interests of knowledge, art, freedom, rights, and life of the spirit dominate.
2. An act is ethical when regard for others, under the various aspects of justice, benevolence, and sympathy are in control.
3. The motive and method of an act are ethical when there is recognized some standard which may arise as a control in the guise of right and law (codes), or as a measure of value in the form of an ideal to be followed or good to be approved.
4. The motive and method of an act are ethical when there is present a sense of duty and a respect for the law; that is, a sincere love of the good.

Basic requirements for an ethical code. Before a code can be adopted and put on a professional plane, several prerequisites are necessary. First of all, professional training for entrance must be insisted upon. Before a person can be distinguished from the group, he must be in possession of certain knowledge and technique which the group needs.

This situation is not changed by the fact that one regards himself simply as a trustee of this heritage to be used for and handed down to society. In addition, the skill and training must be common to a number, who are actuated by the same ideals concerning its use.

The second requirement is that there be organization among this skilled group. The influence of one person is relatively slight. One person cannot cure the deficiencies in his profession. One person cannot solve the problems which arise. It is only as there is organized, concerted effort that real thoroughgoing changes for the better may be brought about.

The third prerequisite is that the special field of endeavor be looked upon as a life-work. On the one hand, this helps to secure the stability of purpose which makes one think intelligently about his work. On the other hand, it supplies motive for careful and continued preparation. It makes him more thoughtful of others, because his career is inseparably bound up with them. Ethical standards cannot reach their fullest degree of influence among teachers until it is made possible for them to remain in the profession indefinitely.

The fourth requirement concerns freedom from economic want. People who are living close to want are not likely to be over-particular about ethics. Appeals to higher ideals of knowledge and freedom will in most cases be unheard. One has but little time for social service who is barely able to satisfy the elemental bodily needs for food and clothing and shelter.

Making the code known. Codes of ethics will never be fully effective unless members of the profession are systematically trained in their meaning and significance. The training is especially necessary in teaching, where so many new recruits are added every year. So far as is known, few teachers' associations have provided for making their ethical

codes known to the teaching body. As a consequence, few teachers know that there is a professional code, still fewer know what it is, and the number is still smaller which is taught it in teacher-training institutions. It may be safely maintained that one of the surest methods of preventing teachers from violating the ethical code is to make them acquainted with its provisions.

There are several ways in which the instruction can be given. At one of the first professional meetings of the year the code should be read and commented upon. Rotarians make the discussion of one of their ethical principles a feature of every meeting. Every teacher should be supplied with a printed copy at the beginning of the school year. The official publication of the association can afford to print the professional standards at least once a year. Furthermore, a few days could profitably be given to a study of professional ethics in an introductory course in education in every teacher-training institution.

Content of a professional code. Codes of the various professions do not vary greatly in content. In general, there are two distinct parts to a code: (1) the ordination; and (2) the provisions. The latter deal in a more or less specific manner with the relations between the profession and the clientele directly served; with the relations among members of the profession; and third, with the relations between the professions and society. The code of the engineering profession is quoted below as an excellent example of what a code should be — brief, clear, and definite.

Engineering work has become an increasingly important factor in the progress of civilization and in the welfare of the community. The engineering profession is held responsible for planning, construction, and operation of such work and is entitled to the position and authority which will enable it to discharge this responsibility and to render effective service to humanity.

That the dignity of their chosen profession may be maintained, it is the duty of all engineers to conduct themselves according to the principles of the following code of ethics:

1. The engineer will carry on his professional work in a spirit of fairness to employees and contractors, fidelity to clients and employers, loyalty to his country, and devotion to high ideals of courtesy and personal honor.
2. He will refrain from associating himself with, or allowing the use of his name by, an enterprise of questionable character.
3. He will advertise only in a dignified manner, being careful to avoid misleading statements.
4. He will regard as confidential any information obtained by him as to the business affairs and technical methods and processes of a client or employer.
5. He will inform a client or employer of any business connections, interests, or affiliations which might influence his judgment or impair the disinterested quality of his services.
6. He will refrain from using any improper or questionable methods of soliciting professional work, and will decline to pay or to accept commissions for securing such work.
7. He will accept compensation, financial or otherwise, for a particular service from one source only, except with the full knowledge and consent of all interested parties.
8. He will not use unfair means to win professional advancement, or to injure the chances of another engineer to secure and hold employment.
9. He will coöperate in upbuilding the engineering profession by exchanging general information and experience with his fellow engineers and students of engineering, and also by contributing to the work of engineering societies, schools of applied science, and the technical press.
10. He will interest himself in the public welfare in behalf of which he will be ready to apply his special knowledge, skill, and training for the use and benefit of all mankind.

The public service code. The engineers' code may be taken as fairly representative of the better organized professions. Somewhat more closely typical of conditions in the teaching profession is the large body of men and women in the public service. Like teaching, the membership is

made up of the trained and the untrained. They represent even more varied types of work. As in teaching, a large element of team-work is required, and occasions for friction are more frequent than among engineers and lawyers. The code of ethics for public service workers should therefore have in it many suggestions for the teaching profession. It is given herewith:

1. The public service employee should at all times be courteous, especially in his dealings with citizens who come to him with complaints or for information, assistance, or advice.
2. He should give the best that is in him to the work he is called upon to perform.
3. He should deal fairly with all citizens, and should not accord to some more favorable treatment than to others.
4. He should not limit his independence of action by accepting gratuities or favors from private citizens who have business dealings with the government.
5. He should never be a party to any transaction which would require him, as a representative of a department of government, to pass upon the quality or price of goods or services which he, in some other capacity, is offering for sale to that department.
6. If a public servant is asked by his superior to do something which would jeopardize the vital interests of the public, he should first endeavor to dissuade his superior from pressing the request, and if this method proves unsuccessful he should tender his resignation, stating publicly his reason for doing so.
7. A public servant who is charged with the enforcement of law with which he is not in sympathy should either subordinate his personal views or resign from the service.
8. He should work in full coöperation with other public servants in furthering the ends of governments and in promoting public welfare.
9. He should be true to his obligations as a custodian of public property, and regard its misuse or waste as as serious an offense as the direct misuse or waste of money from the public treasury.

A code for teachers. Several State Teachers' Associa-

tions have adopted codes within comparatively recent years. There is no telling how many State and city codes lie hidden among the minutes of associations and clubs. Two types of codes may be distinguished, differing mainly in the degree to which they are general or specific. The National League of Teachers' Associations has approved a code of the first type. It hardly goes beyond the formulation of a creed, and serves the purpose of the ordination or introductory in codes of other professions. The State codes of Pennsylvania and Michigan are good examples of attempts to define the more important professional relationships. The Pennsylvania code is quoted herewith:

PENNSYLVANIA STATE ETHICAL CODE

I. *Professional attitude.*

The highest obligation of every member of the teaching profession is due to those who are under his professional care.

II. *Compensation.*

The teacher profession should demand for each of its members that compensation which will enable him to render the most efficient service. To attain maximum efficiency the compensation must be sufficient to enable him to live upon a scale befitting his place in society, to permit the necessary expenditures for professional improvement, and to make proper provision for those dependent upon him, and for himself in his old age.

III. *Open-minded study of education.*

Every member of the profession should be a progressive student of education. To this end he should be a thoughtful reader of educational literature, should attend and participate in educational meetings, should engage in such experimentation and collection of data as will test the value of educational theories and aid in the establishment of a scientific basis for educational practice, and should be willing to give to his fellow members the benefits of his professional knowledge and experience.

IV. *Criticism of associates.*

a. The motives for all criticisms should be helpfulness

and improvement. Adverse criticisms, known or heard, should not be made or repeated except to the one criticized, or to his superior with the full expectation that opportunity for explanation will be afforded. On the other hand, when corrupt and dishonorable practices are known to exist they should be fearlessly reported to the proper authorities.

- b. Adverse comment and insinuations in regard to the work of a predecessor or of the teacher of a previous grade are to be condemned.

V. *Appointments and promotions.*

- a. All appointments, promotions, or advancements in salary should be made exclusively on merit. To this end, it is proper for the candidate to make his qualifications known to the proper school authorities, either directly or through a teacher's agency.
- b. A teacher should take no steps toward obtaining a specific position until he knows the position is vacant or about to become vacant.
- c. No teacher should secure an offer elsewhere for the sole purpose of using it as a means to obtain an increase of salary in his present position.
- d. Upon accepting appointment in a given district a teacher should notify all other districts to which letters of application have been sent.
- e. Whenever a superintendent is seeking a teacher in another district, he should inform the superintendent or the proper officials of a district, but a superintendent's reluctance to part with a teacher should not deprive the teacher of an opportunity for deserved advancement.

VI. *Contract obligations.*

A teacher should never violate a contract. Unless the consent of the employing body is obtained releasing the obligation, the contract should be fulfilled. On the other hand, when a teacher is offered a better position elsewhere, it is against the best interests of the school to stand in the way of the teacher's advancement by arbitrary insistence upon the terms of a needlessly rigid contract, when the place can be satisfactorily filled.

VII. *Democracy in the development of school plans.*

The superintendent should be recognized as the professional

leader of the school system. Each member of the system should be given opportunity to collaborate in the solution of professional problems; but when a policy is finally determined, it should be loyally supported by all.

VIII. *Relations between supervisory officers and teachers.*

- a. Coöperation, loyalty, and sincerity should characterize all relations between supervisory officers and teachers.
- b. Each teacher is entitled from time to time to statements of his professional record, whether favorable or unfavorable, and may properly make requests for such statements. Moreover, every teacher whose reëmployment is not intended should be given timely notice.
- c. A supervisor of classroom work should observe the following ethical principles in relation to the teachers whose work he examines professionally.
 1. He should express an opinion upon the work observed following each professional visit.
 2. He should recommend ways to improve every fault pointed out, and allow a reasonable time for improvement.
 3. He should not criticize a teacher before other teachers or before pupils.
 4. He should just as certainly and just as unfailingly point out the excellences as the faults of the work observed.
 5. He should give ample opportunity following observation of the teacher's work.
- d. A superintendent or other supervisory officer should be ready and willing at any time to answer official inquiries from prospective employers concerning the qualifications of any teacher in his school, and should be willing to write to any interested person, at the request of a teacher, giving a statement of the teacher's professional record as he knows it; but evasive or equivocal letters of recommendation should not be given.

IX. *Relations to parents.*

- a. Teachers should maintain coöperative relations with parents, and should meet criticism with open-mindedness and courtesy.
- b. Teachers should not discuss the physical, mental, moral, or financial limitations of their pupils in such a

way as to embarrass the pupils or parents unnecessarily. Nevertheless, they should exercise the utmost candor, as well as tact, in their communications with parents of matters of real importance. Information concerning the home conditions of the pupils should be held in confidence by the teachers.

X. *Relations to publishers and supply houses.*

No member of the profession should act as an agent, or receive a commission, or royalty, or anything else of value, for any books or supplies in the selection of which he exercises official decision.

XI. *Teachers' agencies.*

The profession should unhesitatingly condemn teachers' agencies that encourage teachers to break their contracts, that work for the appointment or promotion of unqualified teachers, or that make recommendations for positions not positively known to be vacant.

XII. *Loyalty to school boards.*

- a. It is the duty of every member of the profession in a school system to recognize the legal authority of the board of directors, and to be loyal to its policies established in accordance therewith.
- b. If, however, the attitude of the school board should clearly and persistently be such as to prevent the members of the profession employed by it from serving the best interests of the pupils, and if repeated efforts to remedy the situation have been without avail, then an appeal should be made to the Commission on Professional Ethics.

Enforcing the code. The enforcement of the professional code has generally been left to public opinion. The Oregon newspaper editors provided that their code "should be given the fullest publicity in order that the public may check us up if we fail to observe it." In the engineering profession, breaches of ethics are reported to a special committee. The committee investigates, and takes up the matter directly with the offender. No one else really knows what the action of the committee is.

The Pennsylvania code establishes a permanent commission of five members. It is the duty of the commission to inquire into reported cases of unethical conduct, and to take such action as may be deemed wise. As there is apparently no appeal from the decisions of the commission, and reports to the association are not compulsory, it can be readily seen that it commands a large measure of unrestrained power. The justice of its administration will depend upon the wisdom and fairness of the commission. It is a question, not merely of expediency but of ethics itself, whether an enforcement committee is defensible.

There are doubtless administrative advantages in setting up an executive commission. However, whenever penalties are prescribed and enforcement formalized, we are no longer in the domain of ethics, but in the domain of law. Ethics trusts to conscience, professional pride, and the informal pressure of group opinion to bring compliance with her decrees. It seems that if penalties are to be written and enforced, the matter could be better and more wisely accomplished through the use of the regular agency for such a purpose — namely, public law. Only thus can the liberties of a group be preserved and guaranteed. An organization setting up rules with all the attributes of law may become an instrument of tyranny, and is almost certain to eventuate in abuses. At this stage in the evolution of the teaching profession such an executive commission, unaccountable directly to the association, seems unwise.

Applications of the code. No member of the profession is exempt from the obligations of the ethical code. It recognizes no caste, no hierarchies. It is equally binding upon the rural teacher, the university professor, the primary instructor, and the city superintendent. In a profession where all stages and aspects of the work are necessary, there can be no high and no low. As in engineering or in medicine, the

only distinction that can be made is on the basis of true worth, measured by ethical standards. A doctor who works in a little village is not less respected than the city practitioner. Thus in teaching there should be no thought of superior and inferior, but instead an ideal of a true democracy in service.

The wise observance of ethical principles not only promotes professional efficiency, but it adds greatly to the pleasure in one's work. It builds up a feeling of security second only to that of permanent tenure. It removes one from the anxiety from unfriendly competition, and the danger from envy. It makes possible the development of real congeniality in associations. Ethics calls for the constant subordination of the claims of self to the claims of others. When all in the group act up to this standard, then teaching will become in the highest sense enjoyable. The purpose in formal codes of ethics is to bring such a desirable condition to pass.

Summary. A profession has service to others as its aim. The obligation rests upon all of its members to see that all live up to this ideal. To do this there is need for an agreement respecting the conduct that is suitable in the many relationships. When a formal statement is made on vital points of mutual agreement, this constitutes the code of ethics. Such a code draws its principles from the general field of social ethics, and applies these principles to the narrower professional domain. There are many things in common among the various codes. They usually consist of a brief statement of faith or belief in the work, and the statements which guide conduct in particular situations of common occurrence. The engineers' code is a good example. The Pennsylvania Teachers' Code illustrates, in an excellent way, the leading points in a professional code for teachers. Whether an executive committee should be established to

enforce codes is a mooted question. The weight of argument, at this time, is probably opposed to such a practice.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Draw up a list of problems of the profession which teachers are often called upon to face. Try to determine the principle which should guide the conduct of any one under similar circumstances. On the basis of these principles you should be able to formulate rules for a code of ethics. See if you can write them.
2. One of the chief contrasts between the ethical codes of lawyers and doctors with the Pennsylvania code for teachers is found in the greater emphasis the two former put upon relations among the members of the professions, especially respecting fees and coöperative work. Remembering that these codes were framed many years earlier than the teachers' code, explain the reasons for the differences.
3. A principal in a village school states, at a teachers' meeting, that he expects to report mistakes made by the teachers to the school board. Comment upon the ethics of his action in so reporting.
4. A superintendent, upon taking up his duties in a school system, found that his predecessor had destroyed or taken away all the records of teachers, pupils, and equipment. Is there anything in the Pennsylvania code covering such conduct as this? How would you deal with it?
5. Many application blanks ask the teacher to state the salary she expects. Is it unprofessional for the teacher to answer this question? Discuss.
6. Discuss the importance of practices being sanctioned by custom before being put in a code of ethics.
7. Is there any reason why occupations which are referred to as trades should not be able to take on the essential characteristics of a profession? Discuss.
8. Explain the benefits that might be expected to result through the framing and adoption of a code of ethics by the teachers in a city or county system.
9. Give the advantages in providing a permanent commission to enforce a code of professional ethics.
10. The Michigan code states that teachers should be ready at all times to assist one another through information, counsel, and advice. Explain the value of including a clause on this subject in the code.
11. Is it assumed that a code of ethics covers all the duties and obligations of the profession? Discuss.
12. After reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of an enforcement provision in a code, state your conclusion concerning its desirability.

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CHAPTER V

TEACHERS' VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Types of organizations. Organizations among teachers have grown out of a realization of common interests and common problems. They have been of comparatively recent organization. In the pioneer days in our country, teachers were too remote from each other to meet in conferences, and there was little group consciousness. Only with the growth of cities, the increasing number of teachers, and the growth of professional training has organized effort and will become significant among teachers.

Two general types of organization may be clearly distinguished. They are the social and the professional. The first has for its main purpose the realization of the satisfactions which come from association and friendly intercourse among like-minded people. The second aims at the accomplishment of the social objectives of education, and of the advancement of the interests of the members of the profession itself. Often all three purposes are combined in the announcements and activities of a single organization. In each the real test is the degree to which the main purpose is approached. In other words, teachers organize because they want to do something together which they cannot do alone. Organization is not merely for its own sake.

Specific forms of organization. Within the limits of the two general types which have been mentioned, several classes are found. There are those organizations which have for their purpose the advancement of the group in specific skills and knowledge. A study group is an example of this class. Another form is made up of those organizations which strive

to improve the economic status of the group. An association banded together to secure higher salaries, pensions, sick benefits, and extended tenure is an example. Still another class may be organized to promote the cause of education in general.

Organizations may also be classified on the basis of their membership. Thus we have superintendents' associations, principals' associations, and grade-teachers' associations. Within a given field, such as secondary education, we may find the Council of English Teachers, the Association of Mathematics Teachers, and the Conference of Social Science Teachers. Workers in almost every educational field have their special organizations.

In addition to the classifications determined by position and subjects, geographical lines may be drawn. Almost every school system, for example, has its local organizations. There are city and county associations. There are State and national associations. The preceding year an international conference was established. Within the geographical or political areas may be found several types of organized groups. Thus a teacher may belong to the general city association, to the local grade-teachers' association, to the State association, and to the national association.

Judging teachers' organizations. With such a multiplicity of organizations, both of number and kind, we may expect that there will be considerable variation in their efficiency. The first basis for judging the efficiency of an organization is the list of achievements. The second is the abilities and characteristics of its membership. The third is the form and nature of the plan of organization itself. The meaning of the first two — achievements and membership — is obvious. So much cannot be said of the third. A brief analysis of it therefore is given. It is hoped that the

reader will apply the criteria here set down to the evaluation of the two concrete illustrations given:

I. Requirements of professional organizations in general.

a. Teachers of local areas, such as cities and counties, organized:

1. Into special associations, as grade teachers, English teachers, commercial teachers, and secondary-school teachers.
2. All local organizations affiliated into a general organization.

b. Teachers of a State organized:

1. Into special associations or departments.
2. All special associations or departments affiliated into a general state educational association.

c. Teachers of the Nation organized:

1. Into special associations or departments.
2. All special associations or departments affiliated into a general national educational association.

II. Requirements of any specific professional organization:

- a. A definite and clearly stated purpose or purposes.
- b. A straightforward program to realize the purpose.
- c. A plan of organization distinguished by its brevity, simplicity, and absence of formal machinery.
- d. Open, democratic procedure.
- e. Greater emphasis upon executing plans than in general discussion.
- f. A dependable agency of publicity.

An example of teacher organization — The N.E.A. The National Education Association is the best illustration of a professional organization among teachers that we have. Originally organized as The National Teachers Association, August 26, 1857, at Philadelphia, its purpose was stated as follows:

To elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching, and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States.

In 1870 the name was changed to The National Educa-

tional Association. Sixteen years later the organization was incorporated under a special act of Congress, and again incorporated in 1906 with changed powers and the name "National Education Association of the United States." The provisions of the second incorporation were ratified in Los Angeles, in 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment. Again, in 1920, an amendment was made to the incorporation act. At the annual meeting at Salt Lake City radical changes were introduced into the by-laws, changing the organization from a loosely coördinated and in the main locally controlled body to a unified and coördinated body with many of the attributes of a professional republic. In the place of mass control, government was centered in a representative assembly. The name remained the same as that adopted in 1907.

Membership and management. Membership is open to any person in the United States who subscribes to the purpose of the Association. Three classes are named. First are active members, who are persons regularly engaged in teaching. Second are associate members, who are persons outside of the profession, but who are interested in education. Third are corresponding members. These are leading educators in foreign countries who have been elected by the Association's board of directors. The dues for active and associate members are two dollars a year.

Officers are elected and business is transacted by the representative assembly. This is composed of delegates from local and State associations. In apportioning delegates, local associations are allowed one representative for every one hundred active members or major fraction thereof who are also members of the National Education Association. State associations are allowed one delegate for every one hundred active members or major fraction thereof who are also members of the National Education Association, up

to five hundred. Thereafter one delegate is allowed for every five hundred members.

Officers of the Association, the United States Commissioner of Education, and one member elected from each State or Territory constitute the Board of Directors. The property of the Association, which now amounts to nearly a third of a million dollars, is in charge of the Directors. There is also a National Council of one hundred and twenty elected members. The by-laws prescribe the duty of the Council as consisting in the discussion of questions of public and professional interest, the proposing of suitable subjects for investigation, and a report annually on educational progress.

Twenty-one departments have been organized, and the Board of Directors and the Representative Assembly are empowered to create more as there is need. An effort has been made to represent the varied educational interests of the country. Among the departments may be mentioned: Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Rural Education, Classroom Teachers, Art Education, Kindergarten Education, Child Hygiene, Physical and Health Education, Music Education, and special education. The activities of the departments are limited to discussion.

The growth of the Association has been very rapid since its reorganization in 1920. It now has a larger membership than any similar association in the world. Permanent headquarters under a permanent Secretary are maintained in Washington, in property owned by the Association. A well-organized and efficient research bureau has been established which has issued several bulletins on important professional problems. An important *Journal* of around fifty pages an issue is published ten times a year, and sent to all active members. This contains short pages, editorials, general educational news, personals, lists of important recent books,

and similar material. The *Annual Proceedings* are sent to members who pay the five-dollar fee. Special Reports are issued by the superintendents, principals, and classroom teachers.

Achievements and program of the N.E.A. To enumerate the achievements of the National Education Association would be to pass in review the whole history of American education for the past sixty years. Progressive movements have either owed their inception to the Association or have been reflected in its programs. Much of the work has been done through special committees, appointed to investigate and report upon important problems. It has been the almost universal custom to base any recommendation upon facts ascertained through systematic investigation. Subjects which have attracted the enterprise of the organization deal with health and hygiene, buildings, the curriculum, finance, teachers' salaries, tenure, grading, method, and the whole gamut of educational interests.

But little of the progress made has been due to conscious planning. Much of it has depended upon the initiative and effort of a few. The Association until very recently has seldom expressed itself positively upon a matter of educational policy, and then backed that policy up with persistent effort. There has been little or nothing for the great body of teachers to do except to listen to lectures at the annual meeting. The membership has failed to appreciate the fact that discussion can never settle problems nor carry out plans. There has been manifest as well a disposition to look at education idealistically, and not practically. Addresses have been largely of the pulpit or of the political type. They are good reading, but a little bit too highly generalized to result in action.

Within the short space of a half-dozen years this has to a great extent been changed. The scientific movement in edu-

cation has made its impress upon the Association, as it has on educational practices in the schools. The trials of the war period brought about a larger group consciousness and intensified objectives. For the first time in its history, the National Education Association may now be said to have a forward-looking program. It embraces such worthy objectives as the following:

1. The elimination of illiteracy.
2. The extension of American ideals, influence, and unity through Americanization.
3. Health work and physical education.
4. A better equalization of educational opportunity.
5. A more equable distribution of the burden of school support.
6. Better-trained teachers.
7. Closer coöperation among teachers.
8. The development of a better feeling among nations.
9. The raising of education to a plane of equality with other great American enterprises.

The State Teachers' Association. As an example of organization for effective service and accomplishment, the California State Teachers' Association forms an excellent example. Fifteen years ago the so-called State Teachers' Association was a relatively ineffective organization, having but a small membership and this centered about the San Francisco Bay Region. It held yearly meetings, with programs of the lecture type, and adopted the usual annual resolutions, but as an action organization it amounted to but little. There was a larger organization in Southern California, and other independent organizations in the northern and south-central portions of the State. All were of much the same type. There was no connection between the different organizations, and no unity of aim or purpose in their work. Often the representatives of the different organizations sent committees to the legislature advocating different

plans or legislation, and what one organization favored, another might oppose.

Impressed with the need for better understanding, more concentrated effort, and more effective action before the legislature, the leaders in California, after much hard work, finally succeeded in forming an amalgamation of all the different organizations into one California State Teachers' Association. The different local organizations continued, but now became branches of the one State organization. A single constitution and plan of procedure was adopted for all. A central directing Council was created, to be formed on the representative principle by elections from each of the branches. The quotas for each branch, and for any new branches to be formed later on, were based on their paid-up membership. All members became members of one State association, but with local affiliation with the branches. The membership dues were doubled, and the membership has since been more than quadrupled. A good State educational journal has been financed, a paid Secretary employed, and a research bureau is now about to be established. Committees have been appointed in each of the branches, and set to work at the study of the State's educational problems. The Council meets biennially, and oftener on call, hears reports, and formulates a legislative program. The facts on which action must be based are published.

The result has been the creation of one of the best organized and most effective State organizations of teachers to be found in the United States. The teachers have been filled with a new professional attitude, and have rallied to its support. Many cities and a number of counties pride themselves on one hundred per cent membership in the Association. Results have been obtained for education in the State, in which the teachers as a whole have shared, that could not have been attained in three times the time under the old

form of organization. Some of these results are set forth in the final chapter of this book. Not the least of these results, by any means, was the so-called constitutional amendment 16, initiated and put over by the State Teachers' Association which practically doubled the State support for schools and refinanced public education in California. The public school teacher in California in consequence to-day feels a new class consciousness, and a new devotion to service in the cause of education.

The organization of classroom teachers. As a third example of united thought and action, classroom teachers' organizations have been chosen. Often affiliated with the N.E.A., and in considerable number united in a National League of their own, these associations present several unique and interesting features. Membership is open only to teachers, the term signifying persons actively engaged in classroom work, but having no supervisory, rating, or disciplinary power over any teacher. Elementary-school teachers comprise almost the total membership.

The growth of the associations has been very rapid. While no more than an estimate can be made of the total affiliated organizations, it is probable that they now exceed two hundred. About fifty per cent of these have sprung into existence since the outbreak of the World War. Fifty per cent also are in large cities, with only ten per cent in cities of less than 10,000 population. The number of members in the associations range from thirteen to two thousand, the median being a little above two hundred. About eighty-five per cent of the teachers eligible to membership have actually joined in the cities where the organizations have been formed.

The purposes of grade-teachers' associations. An examination of the purposes of grade-teachers' associations reveals their comprehensive character. They do not, however,

do more than indicate the program or tasks to be done. In a survey made at the request of the National League by Lang, ten leading aims are formulated. A single organization often has as many as seven aims stated. The average number of avowed purposes runs about two. In the list which follows, the percentages refer to the fifty-nine associations reporting. For example, the first item should be read: "Professional betterment is the aim of thirty-six per cent of the associations reporting."

	PER CENT
1. To provide professional betterment.....	36
2. To promote the welfare of the schools.....	32
3. To promote the welfare of the teachers.....	24
4. To foster good will and helpfulness.....	24
5. To provide social betterment.....	22
6. To raise the status of teachers.....	20
7. To coöperate with other agencies.....	16
8. To improve the economic status of teachers.....	12
9. To make organized action possible.....	8
10. To promote civic improvement.....	6

Plan of organization. The usual officers are elected for a year, and by secret ballot. Membership is the only qualification generally mentioned for holding office. Committees are appointed by the president. Reading, as in the preceding table, we find the typical committees to be as follows:

	PER CENT
1. Professional and educational.....	64
2. Social and recreational.....	62
3. Welfare.....	60
4. Publicity.....	54
5. Legislative.....	48
6. Program.....	32
7. Membership.....	24
8. Civic.....	22
9. Organizations.....	20
10. Salaries.....	18
11. Educational council.....	16

Three fourths of the associations reporting to the National League are affiliated with other societies. The number of organizations with which affiliation has been made varies from one to seven. How close and how effective these connections are is uncertain. They probably vary greatly among different communities and at different periods. During special campaigns the working relationships are likely to be closer than in periods when no conspicuous issues are before the people. The nature of the relationships may be inferred from the following table, showing affiliations:

	PER CENT
1. With National League of Teachers' Associations .	56
2. National Education Association	53
3. City women's clubs	29
4. State teachers' associations	27
5. State classroom-teachers' associations	14
6. City commercial clubs	14
7. State federation of women's clubs	9
8. City teachers' associations	9
9. County teachers' associations	5

Achievements. Achievements also vary among the organizations, according to their purposes and enterprise. About one fifth have nothing to report. One third of the associations are responsible for two thirds of the accomplishments. One third report projects undertaken which resulted in failures. The successes reported below indicate in a way the fields in which associations have found it most profitable to labor:

	PER CENT
1. <i>Salaries</i> — increases, prevention of decreases, and improved schedules	58
2. <i>Professional</i> — maintenance of lecture and study courses, selection of texts, and the revision of courses of study	39

3. *Legislative and political* — influencing State legislation on education, voting school bond issues, and aiding in securing better city laws. 36
4. *Contractural, other than salary* — sick-leave on pay, abolishment of bad merit system, advisory council, and improved retirement system. 31
5. *Welfare* — maintenance of loan funds, hospital benefits, securing better living conditions, establishment of vacation camps, and support of indigent children. 29
6. *Coöperation* — helping teachers get acquainted, entertaining school authorities, and establishing unity between grade and high-school teachers. 18
7. *Publicity* — promoting education through the local press, and the issuance of special publications. 18
8. *Status* — raising the teacher in the estimation of the school authorities and of the community. 16
9. *Activity with other organizations* — securing one hundred per cent membership in the N.E.A., sending delegates to conventions, and helping other teachers to organize. . . 16

In general, the failure of a club to secure results has been ascribed to lack of interest among the teachers. The lack of interest is accounted for in a number of ways. First, are the teachers who care for increased salaries only. They are indifferent to activities having other objectives. Second, the failure of a teacher to coöperate may be due to other school demands upon her time. Others may have so many outside interests, such as social affairs, that they cannot attend the meetings. Transients, "birds of passage," and inexperienced teachers also fail to take an interest in the associations. Shortcomings of the organizations themselves are held responsible in very few instances. Such shortcomings as are found have to do with the size of the association — too large or too small, not enough work to keep all busy, and the lack of something definite to do.

An impartial examination of the organizations of classroom teachers must result in the conclusion that much con-

structive work is being done. The leadership is sane and progressive. The members are loyal and enterprising. The main need is for more clearly defined objectives, and for greater unity of action. It would seem to be wise, therefore, for all the associations to affiliate with the National League as well as with the National Education Association. Necessarily, a larger proportion of the whole group of classroom teachers should unite themselves with local associations. A realization of the need of a common broad program, the State and national scope of their interests, and the opportunities before them for progressive work in the cause of the profession and of education should bring all teachers to the support of organized endeavor generally.

Special problems connected with organizations. One of the first problems which a young teacher meets is whether she should unite with the professional organizations or not. She may perhaps at her first visit to a meeting be inclined to think the programs rather tiresome, and to question whether any progress will result from organized effort. Or she may be inclined to think that while other teachers need to unite in order to realize professional benefits, her own ability and strength is sufficient to insure her success.

Either of these views is a mistaken one. In the first place, the prime purpose of a professional organization is not the entertainment of its members. If the occasion offers for social programs, very well, but the real objectives are far more serious than the passing of an hour's leisure. One who is unwilling to subordinate personal inclinations and desires occasionally for the promotion of the general good lacks the most important qualification for teaching.

It is well to understand, too, that the added benefits which teachers now enjoy over the teachers of thirty years ago were not procured by the efforts of any one or any half-dozen persons. They have been obtained only after pro-

longed and persistent endeavor on the part of organized groups. It is not to be expected that results can be obtained immediately. One must be prepared to face disappointment, and to wait with fortitude for years before results appear. What is especially needed from all is loyalty to the purposes of the group, loyalty to the individuals in the group, willingness to obey instructions, ability to keep good-natured and hopeful, and courage to hold on to the course as set.

When criticism of the policies and management of the associations is indulged in, it should be constructive. Happily we do not stand in need of fault-finders at present. The dues sometimes stand in the way of teachers joining and remaining in organizations, but at the rates commonly set a teacher may belong to the local, the State, and the national association for six dollars a year. The publications of the organizations would cost as much. However, the main point is that no investment of twenty times the amount will yield the same returns, professional and financial, in the course of a teaching career of ten years.

The problem of affiliation with other organizations. Another question of importance concerns the desirability of affiliating with other organizations. Those outside of the teaching profession, such as the American Federation of Labor, are referred to. An absolute answer is impossible. If a referendum were taken among the teachers of the country, their decision would in all probability be against affiliation. If the same vote were taken among the patrons of the public school, their decision would probably be much more positively in the negative. A similar judgment rendered by competent impartial judges it seems safe to predict would also be against affiliation.

The proposition should be debated first on the broad ground of whether teachers should in their organizations affiliate permanently with any outside interest. The ques-

tion may certainly be raised next whether, if affiliation with outside organizations is desirable, it should be with groups that differ from teachers in their problems and objectives. Another point involves the degree of independence of action which the teachers surrender.

Refraining from making any distinctions among outside organizations, teachers may justify themselves for refusing to enter any permanent alliances by the following reasons:

1. The affiliation is unnecessary, both for teachers and for the other organization.
2. The combination of different problems, different methods, and different purposes must result in hampering the efficiency of each party.
3. There is warranted a strong presumption that such affiliation would imperil the future of the public school.
4. The intensification of class spirit and class antagonism is a probable consequence.
5. There is no evidence that benefits would result.

It is only fair to say that one finds little to criticize in the purposes of the teachers who have affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They state their objects to be as follows:

1. To bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and coöperation.
2. To obtain for them all the rights to which they are entitled.
3. To raise the standard of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service.
4. To promote such democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, and political life of the community.

Furthermore, recognition of the contribution which Labor has made may well be acknowledged by all. Not only may evidence of the cordial support be found in the days when the public school was struggling for a footing among the

institutions of our country, but it may be found in the present in the zeal and enterprise of Labor in maintaining and improving the public schools. It may be argued, however, that the deserved appreciation may be shown without tying teachers' organizations up with labor organizations. The obligation, too, is one shared by the whole social group, of which teachers constitute only a small portion.

Improving teachers' organizations. By matching the requirements of a live organization against existing associations one may reach certain conclusions which point the way to improvement. A more aggressive attitude could be taken with positive benefit. Particularly should we have more activity on problems of the profession — tenure, pensions, salaries, working conditions, living conditions, and the like. We need less passing of resolutions, less general lecturing, and less talking about theories of education. In other words, we need to face our problems with clear and unbiased vision, and to apply practical and justifiable methods in their solution.

Side by side with the activities of organizations must go investigations. While guesses and speculation may be relied upon when there is no better guide, they are unsatisfactory substitutes for facts. There will never be an end to the problems which must be solved by the organized group. Individual achievement in research is slight compared with what the group can do. We must work together. We must define our aims in unmistakable terms. We must study the methods of other associations. We must plan intelligent and practicable programs. We must be willing to learn and willing to change our ideas. It was by following just such suggestions as these that the Elementary Teachers' Union of England became, in the words of Sidney Webb, "The best organized professional association in the world."

Summary. Organizations among teachers have been

constantly multiplying. Many forms may be observed. The uniting principle in all is their common purpose. The most efficient organizations state their purposes definitely, plan and work consistently to realize the purposes, subordinate formal and complex machinery to simplicity and democracy and stress action rather than discussion. Three excellent illustrations of American organizations are the National Education Association, the State Teachers' Association of California, and the Grade-Teachers' Associations. All have grown rapidly in recent years, and have made commendable achievements. The value of organizations is so great that all teachers should unite with them and assist in carrying out their programs. Whether teacher associations should affiliate with non-teacher organizations or not is a question which has excited much interest. The consensus of opinion is that such affiliation is both unnecessary and undesirable.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Make up a list of as many reasons as you can gather for a teacher joining: (a) the State Teachers' Association. (b) The National Education Association.
2. Discuss whether it is better for teachers to organize on the basis of geography, or of special interest such as subject taught or position held.
3. Applying the criteria set down for judging professional associations to your State Association or to the National Association.
4. What is indicated in the name "National Education Association," as compared with the name "National Teachers' Association"? Which is the better name?
5. Explain the reason for limiting the proportion of State delegates to the N.E.A. more closely than the local delegates.
6. What is meant by the statement that before the reorganization of the N.E.A. it was subject to local control?
7. Glance through a copy of the proceedings of the N.E.A. What type of addresses do you find? Are they based upon facts and figures from research? Do you find any of the oratorical type? What is the general nature of the topics presented?
8. Comment upon the adequacy of a recent program of the N.E.A.

What additions can you suggest? Are there any parts you do not favor? Give your reasons.

9. Is there any reason why elementary or classroom teachers should form an organization of their own? Discuss.
10. Point out the reasons why the coördination of teachers' associations on a national basis is necessary.
11. Examine the table which gives the purposes of the classroom teachers' associations. Do you think a disproportionate part is given to the purely economic problems of the group?
12. Obtain a copy of the program of the American Federation of Teachers, and contrast it in purpose and program with the Classroom Teachers' Organizations.
13. State the advantages of affiliation of teachers' associations with some other body, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Women's Clubs, or the American Federation of Labor. The disadvantages.
14. Make up list of the obstacles which teachers must face in carrying on their organizations.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The source of administrative authority. In a democratic country the source of all authority is the people. This does not mean all of the people. The makers of authority are only those who help to form public opinion, take up duties of leadership, and express their convictions through the ballot. Through such methods — talking, debating, writing, and voting — the people pick out the activities they want to carry on. Where so many are concerned, where activities are so numerous, and where there are such great differences in interests and abilities, it is clearly impossible for all to be equally occupied with every public concern. Some are selected to carry out the will of the group. These are called the agents of authority. The specific plan under which the agents of authority work is called the organization.

Among the many things which the people want done is education.¹ In order that this purpose may be carried out, they have planned a special organization. It is called the school or school system. In the United States the people of one State act independently of the people of every other State in educational matters. In other words, every State has its own school system. Every State adopts its own plan, and selects its own agents to carry out the plan. The most important parts of the plan the makers of authority put into the State constitution. They do this in order to emphasize the important, and to safeguard the schools from too frequent changes in fundamental matters. Other important

¹ That the people of different communities vary greatly in the esteem in which education is held may be seen from the statistics below which com-

parts of the plan for the whole State are written into laws. Still others are expressed as rules and regulations, general or local.

The men and women who are selected to carry out the will of the people in respect to education are known as school administrators. Members of the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Schools, and the County Superintendent of Schools are school administrators. They have no authority except what comes from the original source, the people of the State. It is their duty to carry out the plan of the people faithfully, consistently, and thoroughly. In planning for the whole State it is almost impossible to name everything that ought to be done in order to have good schools. It is also impossible to give detailed instructions for doing things. The plan for the whole State is likely in consequence to be general in nature. Some of the most important things are named specifically. The plan may also state how well some things must be done to be acceptable. Sometimes it outlines how things are to be accomplished.

pare educational expenditures with expenditures for other purposes in a selected list of cities. (*Financial Statistics of Cities*, United States Census Bureau, 1917.)

CITY	PER CENT TO EDUCATION	PER CENT TO GENERAL GOVERNMENT	PER CENT TO POLICE PRO- TECTION
1. Bellingham, Wash.....	63.7	8.1	6.1
2. Everett, Wash.....	56.2	8.7	6.4
3. Colorado Springs, Colo.	48.6	9.3	6.7
4. Boise, Idaho.....	46.9	7.8	4.0
5. Charleston, W.Va.....	46.5	13.4	9.2
6. Elmira, N.Y.....	39.9	10.8	8.5
7. Zanesville, Ohio.....	39.4	10.7	9.0
8. Austin, Tex.....	37.4	8.4	7.4
9. Joplin, Mo.....	36.3	12.0	12.5
10. Newport, Ky.....	34.6	12.4	11.8
11. Niagara Falls, N.Y.....	28.4	9.1	7.8
12. Shreveport, La.....	24.9	9.0	10.9
13. Wilmington, N.C.	23.6	9.4	15.6
14. Brookline, Mass.....	23.3	7.5	9.1
15. Columbia, S.C.....	20.3	8.1	16.4

Generally, though, the State does not plan particulars, but leaves them to be worked out by its agents.

How the State is organized for education. The first step in planning an educational system is taken when the State is organized. The next step is to put the plan into operation in the various parts of the State. The theory is that the people of the communities and their agents can do this better than the agents selected from the whole State. On the basis of this belief, local communities, such as cities and rural districts, are also organized. This is accomplished by the people electing agents to administer the schools, adopting rules and regulations, and providing finance. The local organization, however, can do nothing that it has not been empowered to do by the people of the whole State. Guided by the State plan, the people of the community and their agents go to work to educate the children. The nature of the organization, stretching from the State to the individual, may be seen from the following outline:

1. The people of the State in the constitution declare their faith in public education as a means of safeguarding the public welfare and of promoting human progress. They order that a public school system be organized, and put the responsibility for its organization in the hands of certain agents or officers:
 - a. The State legislature to draw up general plans and provide sources of revenue.
 - b. A representative board of education, composed of a few members, to plan more specifically than the legislature in carrying out the general purpose.
 - c. A State Superintendent of Education to act as the executive officer of the legislature and the State Board in carrying out the educational purpose, and to help improve the plan through supplying counsel, information, and guidance.
2. The State legislature passes on to the people of each community certain of the duties which have been imposed upon it by the people of the State:

- a. The duty of carrying out the purpose and plan within the community.
- b. The duty of electing agents to see that the will of the people is carried out. This is usually a representative board, similar to the State Board, but having no authority outside of the local districts.
3. The local board creates a local organization for educational purposes. This consists in:
 - a. The election of a local superintendent of schools. He is executive and advisory officer of the local board.
 - b. The adoption of rules and regulations designed to guide the superintendent in the discharge of the duties of his office.
4. The local superintendent creates an organization by appointing teachers, principals, assistant superintendents, janitors, clerks, and other employees. Rules and regulations for their guidance may be drawn up, in harmony with the State plan.

One of the main points to keep in mind in thinking of the school organization is that the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent, the local school board, the local superintendent, the principal, and the teachers are all alike agents of authority. They have no official powers whatsoever except those granted by the makers of authority whom they serve. They cannot add to their own powers; they cannot lawfully subtract from their duties. They cannot rightfully modify the organization in order to suit the whim, convenience, or interest of any one. Three lines which limit the activities of the agents of authority may be clearly perceived:

1. What the agents must do.
2. What the agents must not do.
3. What the agents may do.

As we proceed from the State to the school district, we find also certain lines of cleavage between the duties of the various agents. We may assume that what the people may do educationally is only limited by expediency, funds, and

facilities. When we come to the State Board, we find it must and may do things which the State Superintendent must not do. At the same time the State Superintendent has duties which he alone must discharge. Likewise the mandatory activities of the local authorities are sharply separated. In this way a form of specialization of function has been worked out, the object being to make administration more efficient.

The purpose of administration. What must be done is, therefore, pretty strictly prescribed by the makers of authority. Most of the leeway comes to the administrator in determining how duties laid upon him must be fulfilled. Sometimes he is restricted in this respect also. In the first case he may believe that a law or rule is a poor one. In the second case his experience and training may tell him that there are better ways to do things than the ways laid out by his superior authority. In neither case has he any right to alter the law. It is his duty to execute it as long as it remains a law. As a private citizen he has the right to do what he can to get the law amended or repealed. As a public official or employee he has a right to recommend the modification of the law. In no case has he any right to disregard it. If he cannot execute it, he should resign.

Administration exists, then, for the purpose of getting things done. It may in fact be called the science of getting things done well, according to the plans which the people have devised. In this process such factors as the following are of supreme importance:

1. *Stability.* This means that effort is directed in a consistent and regular manner toward the goal. Vacillation, frequent change of policy, uncertainty, periods of rush and hurry, and periods of doing nothing are not conducive to general confidence and progress.
2. *Unity.* Every one knows how friction operates to slow down

the movement of a machine or a current. It has the same effect when it is found in school affairs. Everything which tries to hold up the movement of the educational forces or to turn its direction means lack of unity. Not only is the efficiency of the school reduced, but the teachers find less satisfaction in their work. The removal and prevention of friction is an important element in administration.

3. *Uniformity.* This factor is aimed at the prevention of discrimination. It recognizes that the makers of authority want the benefits of education distributed fairly. It not only signifies equality of opportunity, but it is opposed to favoritism and all that goes under the name of politics.

Administrative problems. The problems encountered in school administration are as numerous as the activities undertaken. They include such matters as the training and certification of teachers, the planning of courses of study, the adoption of textbooks, the building and equipping of schoolhouses, the appointment of employees, the grading of pupils, the measurement of educational results, financing and accounting, and reporting to the public. In a general way, the problems of school administration may be classified under the following headings:

I. *Organizing:*

1. Planning policies and considering ways and means; enlisting coöperation.
2. Counseling: discussion designed to provide a tentative course of action.
3. Directing: issuing instruction, offering suggestions.

II. *Executing:*

1. Attending to routine, such as reports, correspondence, conferences.
2. Carrying out special programs; meeting new situations.
3. Providing supplies, equipment, and buildings.

III. *Supervising:*

1. Inspecting methods, physical conditions, and equipment.
2. Measuring results.
3. Maintaining morale.

4. Educating the public and the school officers and the employees.

IV. *Accounting:*

1. Recording data.
2. Reporting to the public.

V. *Investigating:*

1. Trying new methods and devices.
2. Collecting information from other schools.
3. Collection and interpretation of local data.

For the purpose of emphasis it is repeated that the powers of administrators are strictly limited. In the matter of school finance, for example, there is first of all a limited amount to be drawn upon. Schools are maintained out of the annual surplus. The surplus is what remains out of income after expenses have been paid. This includes the cost of living: food, clothing, shelter, medical and dental attendance, and numerous other items. To illustrate, suppose that the gross income of a city is five million dollars. Suppose also that four million must be paid for living expenses, maintenance of machinery, and the like. The remainder, one million, is the surplus. From this must be drawn support for many public activities: government, public works, charity, public health, and the schools. The chances are, too, that the proportion which may be taken for education is limited by State law, and is almost sure to be limited by the confidence which the people of the city have in the schools.

The point of view of the school board. In the face of many other limitations, the school board finds itself unable to keep performance up to the standard of their desires. On the one hand is the mandate of the State, which must be obeyed. On the other hand are certain obstacles and limitations, which must be overcome or otherwise reckoned with. People who do not understand the difficulties are likely to be impatient for results. They resort to criticism and to fault-finding. They expect what is plainly impossible — often

what is unlawful. There is no wonder that school board members sometimes throw up their hands in disgust, and pass the job along to other candidates for martyrdom.

If teachers and patrons would try the device of putting themselves in the place of the school board member, they might be less exacting in their demands and more generous in their judgments. School board members are usually selected because they are interested in education. They are usually the best people in the community. They cannot remain in office long without becoming acquainted with the laws and rules governing their actions. They are busy people. They serve without pay. Many of their duties are time-consuming. Almost all of them are exacting. Many of them are very unpleasant. Only a high sense of public duty would hold the most of them in the service. They receive but little appreciation; they get much abuse.

Such a condition of affairs should be changed. The best way to do this is for citizens to acquaint themselves with the duties of the school officers and the difficulties involved in performing their functions. As a means of bringing about such an understanding, the board should give the fullest publicity to their acts. Any concealment, any hint of secrecy, any suggestion of sharp dealing or high-handed practice brings the position of the board into disrepute, and diminishes public confidence to such an extent that the schools may be handicapped for years. Still another method is to give some public recognition to the men and women who have given free service to the cause of education. Even a better way is for one to make available to them any facts and suggestions touching on their duties which will help to make them more efficient. There are very few people who object to being supplied with a wealth of helpful information. Very often, when one gets into the heart of a school problem, he finds to his surprise that the school board has

already taken the only practicable course open. Two thirds of the criticism of public officers, it is safe to say, is based on ignorance of the conditions.

The individual teacher should trespass but little upon the time of board members. They are busy in the first place following their own vocations. Should every one who wants to air his views of educational theory and practice, or advance his own interests in the way of salary, promotion, or esteem, try to see the board members, their private affairs would be wholly neglected. Such a course from a teacher is also highly unethical. Moreover, a member of the school board has no authority at all except as his vote counts in a board meeting when considering some matter that may legally come before the body. At other times he has no more right to give orders, or to make promises that are binding concerning the conduct of the schools, than has any other private citizen. An appeal made to a board member except in the regular form of official business is embarrassing to him, and puts the person who makes it more or less under suspicion of wanting special preference.

The point of view of the superintendent. The functions performed by the superintendent are delegated to him by the people and by the school board. He has only a narrow range of choice in things to do. His choice of ways of doing things is also far more limited than many teachers seem to believe. As a rule there are but few practicable ways of planning buildings, laying out courses of study, electing teachers, and grading pupils. Among the few choices some may be put out of consideration by costs, attitude of the people, lack of equipment, lack of trained personnel, and other like reasons. The people of the State may have legislated on the matter. In such a case the superintendent can do nothing but obey the superior mandate of the people.

The superintendent's interests embrace the school system

as a whole. He should be free from any partiality for a given school, race, religion, pupil, or teacher when it comes to the administration of the schools. He must not let personalities influence him to a wrong course of action. Neither his prejudices nor his generosity must sway him from the path of fairness. He is pledged to give ear to all appeals. Very often his decisions must run contrary to his inclinations. The rejection of a petition is not a sign that he holds the petitioner in low esteem.

The position is one of broad responsibility. The responsibility is not to the taxpayer, big or little. It is not wholly to the school board. It is to the makers of authority who have put the duty of maintaining an efficient school into his hands. Because the responsibility is a big one, and because the consequences of mistakes are serious, he cannot afford to take chances. One can play with abandon only when the stakes are small, or when he has an utter disregard for the welfare of others. Every decision the superintendent makes touches the welfare of not one person, but of many persons. He cannot pass the blame for errors and omissions on to others. In a school system that is organized so that the lines of authority focus in the office of city superintendent, he is directly responsible for the success or failure of the school. This fact has a very sobering effect on any one, and tends to develop conservatism and caution.

Observing this quality in a superintendent, teachers especially are likely to regard it with impatience. They see things which loom big in their view unseen or apparently neglected. To their mind the remedy is found in the mere giving of an order by the official head of the schools. To such the relativity of educational affairs has never made an impression. The matter which the individual looks at so gravely may be of minor significance beside the other issues pressing upon the superintendent for attention. It may be an item marked

for consideration, along with a score of others of the same type. It may be that to consider it at all at the time would be inexpedient, and would interfere with the smooth progress of larger educational interests. It is only when one has at his command all the facts and policies that he is able to keep a fair sense of proportion. The teacher should be sure she does not make a mountain out of what is only an incident in the superintendent's daily schedule.

Methods of administration. So much in the way of school efficiency and school satisfaction is dependent upon the method of administration followed by the superintendent that a word concerning the advantages and disadvantages of each type is desirable. At one end of the administrative scale we find a highly centralized form. At the other extreme is the widely diffused form. Between these two forms, but of a pattern with the centralized type, is what may be called the intermediate form. No administrative system may furnish a perfect example of one of these types, but any system will approach one more closely than the others.

In the centralized type, all the authority which the people and school board pass on to the superintendent is retained in his office. The daily work of the teacher is based upon instructions from which she has no right to depart. The work of the principal does not vary except in kind. Procedure is rigidly systematized. Formal instructions are delivered by the superintendent. The principals and teachers return voluminous reports. The courses of study and the daily schedule become the dominant influences in the school. The best teachers and principals are those which carry out most literally the orders from the central office.

Administratively there are certain advantages in the plan. There is likely to be stability, unity, and uniformity in the process. There is detail, there is system. Nothing is over-

looked. Results are checked up by the examination method. The overhead expenses are usually light. There is little on the surface to show that educational conditions are unsatisfactory. Yet invariably a school system administered by such a plan is lifeless. There is likely to be a complete lack of initiative or originality on the part of pupils and teachers. "Passive, routine, clerical, are the terms that fittingly describe the attitude of the principals and teachers toward their work, and the attitude of the pupils is inevitably the same."

However well adapted to the needs of the pupils the system may have been in the beginning, it soon becomes obsolete. The absence of contact between the teaching and the administration makes the elimination of the unfit and the introduction of the desirable out of the question. When performance lags, the administrative offices issue a new set of rules and regulations and tighten up on the examinations. The system becomes the thing. All the ability of teachers is insufficient to cut through the red tape that sooner or later kills all the real educational activity the schools ever possessed.

The diffused type. Two features of the diffused type of administration deserve mention. In the first place, the legal or prescribed authority of the superintendent is divided up and delegated to responsible groups. One of the outstanding examples of this form of administration will be discussed at length in the following chapter. The second feature embraces that form of non-official coöperation best illustrated by parent-teacher associations and pupil-government organizations. The wise organization of this extra-legal and voluntary coöperation may add immeasurably to the strength of the schools. We might say that schools are practically equal so far as the legal organization contributes to their efficiency. That one goes ahead of the

other is due in a large degree to the utilization of the voluntary and extra-legal forces of the community.

One may contend that parent-teacher associations and other extra-legal organizations may also be used under the centralized system of administration. To a minor degree this is true. Generally speaking, however, in the autocratic school system there is no voluntary coöperation with the school. The teachers, the clerks, and the janitors submit to absolute dictation because they have no other choice. Their jobs are dependent upon it. This is not true of civic leagues, commercial clubs, and parent-teacher associations. There is no legal or economic pressure to make them come into line. As a consequence, the school goes along with only the support that comes to it officially. It is cut off from the great voluntary supply of helpful counsel, physical aid, and good-will which is essentially present in a school working under the diffused form of management.

The point may be made at this juncture that instructions must often be followed, whether or not their intent is understood and whether or not the individual has had a share in framing them. Diffused administration does not mean that it is necessary to call a conference of teachers and of parents to decide whether the school building may be opened to the use of the Civic League. Matters of ordinary school routine may be taken for granted. When instructions are issued, they ought to be obeyed implicitly, no matter what type of administration prevails.

The intermediate type. The typical factory organization furnishes a good example of the intermediate type. At the head stands a manager, responsible to a board of directors. Under the manager are various foremen. Under the foremen are the ordinary workers. The manager delegates a portion of his responsibility to the foremen. He holds them for results. He does not instruct them in detail how the results

are to be obtained. He may not inquire into the methods used unless the results are unsatisfactory. He may attempt to coördinate the different departments in his plant by calling the foremen into occasional conferences. The conferences may be for the purpose of exchanging ideas, planning policies, or for the purpose of listening to instructions. The workers have no direct representation in this cabinet.

This may be used to illustrate the prevailing form of administration in American schools to-day:

Thus, in the administration of the school system, the teachers are responsible to the principals, the principals to the assistant superintendents, the assistant superintendents to the superintendent, and finally the superintendent to the board; and this principle of direct accountability on the part of subordinates to superiors exists throughout the entire code.¹

This means that a school hierarchy exists, with the superintendent supervising the principals, and the principals supervising the teachers and the pupils in their own schools.

It must not be overlooked that the teacher herself has important administrative duties to perform. In general, they affect the pupils. In a scheme such as has been described, her province is well recognized, and it is felt that no principal or supervisor has any right to infringe upon it. The importance of acknowledging her sphere of control is well indicated by Perry in the following words:

The principal must make it a point at all times to respect the authority of the teacher. She must be recognized, and must be taught to recognize herself, as the administrative head of her class, just as the principal is the acknowledged administrative head of his school. Indeed, the principal will be, if anything, less jealous of his own administrative authority than he is solicitous to respect that of the class teacher. The concrete application of this principle in the presence of pupils will do much, through the creation of an atmosphere, to further the general good discipline of the school.

¹ *Annual Report*, Boston School Committee, 1906, p. 20.

Under this plan a little field of authority is reserved to every one in the school system. Within this field he (or she) is supreme. For the efficient performance of his specific duties he is, however, responsible to some one else, who is in turn responsible to another party in the system. Such a plan does give one somewhat the impression of a gigantic mechanism, in which the efficiency of one part is dependent upon its coördination with and the efficiency of every other part. The efficient working of the system is immensely subtracted from through an effort on the part of any one to trespass upon the territory of another, or to meddle in any way with his duties. Only when the lines are clean-cut between the various parties, and when each is diligent in keeping within his own bounds, can the school be carried on without friction.

Advantages and disadvantages. The more highly centralized system has the general advantage of economy and convenience. It appeals to one's ideas of system and order. Nevertheless, it is relatively inefficient educationally, whether that term be construed to signify ability in performing the fundamental operations in arithmetic or to the development of citizenship. The decentralized plan is more satisfying and comfortable. It encourages individual interests in the school, and lets loose a flood of energy in the cause of education. It is more adaptable to peculiar needs and to new situations. It provides opportunities for a healthy and progressive rivalry among schools, and stimulates the teachers and principals to greater exertion and to greater originality. It is a little more trying on the patience of persons in responsibility, and demands a higher grade of tolerance and intelligence on the part of all concerned. As an educational device, though, it is far superior to the more autocratic method.

Obstacles to successful administration. No matter what

kind of plan is in effect the same type of obstacles will be met with. They may vary at times and places, but sooner or later every school has to deal with them. They may be summarized, as follows:

1. *Ignorance.* No person should try to administer any school duty until he is perfectly familiar with it. The first step, then, is to get at the facts. The next is to consider ways and means, adopting the most profitable one. Knowledge cannot be regarded as complete until one has placed the specific duty in reference to the whole plan. Pupils, parents, teachers, and principals who would share in administration must educate themselves in it.
2. *Over-officiousness.* The most successful administrator never makes a display of authority.
3. *Disloyalty.* This has four aspects: First, there may be disloyalty on the part of the administrator to his co-workers. Second, his co-workers may be disloyal to him. In the third place, the administrator may be disloyal to the central authority, the people. Fourth, there may be disloyalty to the interests of the children, the school, and the State. No form of disloyalty should be tolerated.
4. *Inability to coöperate.* The person who is dictatorial, harsh, fickle, and unreliable cannot administer a school system successfully.
5. *Inability to plan, organize, execute, and delegate.*
6. *Desire for popularity.* This is a frequent cause of failure among both teachers and principals. There are some demagogues in the profession. They take the pose of promoting the interests of "co-workers," "patrons," and the "schools," when at the bottom they are thinking of their own interests. They want a following. Sooner or later they lose the respect and confidence of all whom they want to have support them.

In contrast to the obstacles, we may note some of the principles of efficient administration. Most of these are implied in the foregoing discussion. They comprise such points as the following:

1. Modes of procedure should be simple, direct, and purposeful.

2. Rules should be considered guides only, and to have no virtue apart from their use as instruments.
3. Programs should be planned coöperatively, and based upon fact.
4. A free opportunity for suggestions should be provided.
5. Full recognition should be given for any contribution.
6. What is possible should take rank over what is merely desirable.
7. Do the proper thing rather than try to please all. The former is possible and can be defended; the latter is impossible and cannot be defended,

Summary. A school cannot be carried on without administration. The source of all authority of this kind is found in the people of the State. They elect certain agents to see that their educational purposes are realized. The agents have no authority beyond that which is granted to them. The officers and employees of the school, together with the laws, rules, and regulations which are adopted, constitute the school organization. Administrators are those specifically charged with the responsibility of getting things done. The authority which has been created by the people is centered in their hands. Every problem of education has its administrative aspects. The powers of administrators are decidedly limited by the central authority and by special conditions of local import, such as finance, buildings, equipment, teachers, pupils, and the administrator himself. As all their problems demand special training for their solution, it is important that teachers and others try to get the administrative point of view. In general, administrative organizations may be classed as centralized and decentralized. Both have advantages and disadvantages. The practice to-day is to use a modified form of the centralized type.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Give as much evidence as you can to show that one must have a large amount of specialized knowledge in order to administer a school successfully.
2. Is a teacher justified in feeling resentment against a principal or a supervisor who usurps the teacher's rightful authority in the management of her room? Discuss.
3. Explain why it is that an administrator who is never certain about what should be done, or who changes his mind frequently, is likely to be unsuccessful. Why is it difficult to work under such an administrator?
4. Suppose you might have your choice of teaching under a superintendent who was of the autocratic type, or under one who let things go with little direction while he looked after clerical matters. To which would you give your preference?
5. One may often observe an administrator who seems to have very little authority and almost no power. He is replaced by another man. Though the second works under the same school board, and the same amount of authority from the State, he seems to have almost unlimited power. How do you explain the difference?
6. Does the principle that the teacher's authority be respected by the principal and the superintendent also carry with it the obligation for the teacher to respect the authority of the principal and the superintendent within their fields? Discuss.
7. Give as many reasons as you can why teachers should not take school matters to members of the school board.
8. Does a patron of the school have any authority because he happens to be a big taxpayer?
9. The superintendent issues instructions concerning a number of matters of minor importance. One of the teachers fails to carry them out. Discuss the importance of this, keeping in mind the fact that the teacher, as the superintendent, is an agent of authority.
10. Explain the advantages in returning the same school board members to office for a number of years. Are there any disadvantages?
11. Justify the contention that the school superintendent should be at least reasonably conservative.
12. Discuss the progress that has been made in recent years in developing the non-legal type of school activity, such as parent-teacher coöperation, affiliation of student associations with adult associations, and, in general, the coöperation of school and community in forms not prescribed by law.

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CHAPTER VII

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATION

The problem of teacher participation. Teacher participation in the administration of the school is not a new thing. Even in the most highly centralized system some exchange of counsel and advice has been known. For the most part, such participation has been of the informal, unorganized type. It is best illustrated by the incidental conference between the principal and the teacher over matters of immediate and temporary concern. The educational value of informal discussion cannot easily be estimated, but it is very improbable if under any form of administration it can be dispensed with. Through direct advice or tactful suggestion, the teacher probably has had a larger part in shaping administrative policies than she has been aware of.

In a few schools an effort has been made recently to systematize teacher counsel to the administrative authorities, and to bring in all of the teachers. Two methods have been followed. Under the first, at regular intervals, perhaps the opening and closing of the school term, a letter asking for ideas and suggestions as to the management of the school is sent to every teacher. The replies are tabulated, and some of the ideas may be adopted. If teacher opinion on any subject is pretty well crystallized, it usually comes out in their letters. In schools that have followed this plan, it is also very common to announce frequently to teachers that complaints, ideas, and plans will be given a respectful hearing at any time. There are plenty of schools where repeated suggestions and petitions of the teachers have been ineffectual. There are very few where the door has been closed

against them, and where teachers have been penalized for offering them. Most superintendents prefer to have teachers come to them directly with their troubles, rather than to have them "talk" about their troubles to other teachers and to patrons.

Under the second method the referendum is used. The occasion is a special educational problem concerning the entire school. It is stated clearly, and the arguments for and against it are set forth. The teachers then proceed to cast their votes upon the question. No assurance is given that the teachers' judgment will be approved by the central authorities. It is merely one of the factors that is given consideration. In handling purely local problems within a school building, it is practically always the custom for the successful principal to submit all matters of importance to the faculty for approval or disapproval, and to accept the decision of a majority as final. It is well to understand that what he delegates here is authority, and not responsibility. It is not compulsory for him to do so, however. The group has no legal administrative status at all; the individual teachers have none outside of their own rooms.

Teachers' councils. Within the last decade a movement has been launched, largely by the teachers themselves, to extend the administrative authority of the teachers. It usually begins with the election of eight to fifty representatives from the teachers' organizations. The representatives meet, elect officers, and organize what is variously called representative assembly, executive council, academic council, teachers' association, and teachers' council. The last name is the most common. Sometimes the superintendent takes the initiative in the formation of the organization. More frequently it is done on the initiative of the members of the organizations.

Unless legalized by the action of the city or by the school

board, such a council has no official status. It may make recommendations, but the board is not even obliged to consider them. The council may be very effective despite the lack of legal recognition. If the superintendent and school board¹ are liberal-minded and sympathetic, they will, whenever possible, tend to give heed to the recommendations of the teachers' representatives. When the central authorities feel kindly disposed toward the councils, it has usually been found possible to get together on a satisfactory working basis. Where the school board disapproves of the council, its programs generally get scant attention. Since such conditions do arise, the teachers have been inclined to force the issue of legal recognition.

This last is claimed by many to be the real issue in the matter of teacher participation. Shall the teachers, themselves, be given a share of that authority which the people of the State have now conferred upon boards of education and superintendents of schools? This is a vital question. If answered in the affirmative, it means the introduction of a very great innovation, not only in practical school administration, but in the general theory of administration as well. It is our purpose to examine some of the factors involved in the problem, as well as in the problem of informal participation, and to state a tentative conclusion.

¹The attitude of the administrative officials may be largely due, however, to the nature of the suggestions proposed by the council, and the method which it has employed in bringing the matter to their attention. If the proposals are utterly unreasonable, or are put forward in a threatening and impolitic manner, they deserve scant attention. Unless at the same time administrators can delegate responsibility commensurate with the authority delegated, they are reluctant to comply with the wishes of councils. Clearly, it is not always legally possible for them to do so. On this account, many teachers believe that the best policy is to go to the source of authority, the people, and obtain a share in the administrative duties now performed by school boards and superintendents, and, perhaps in addition, the right to perform new duties. In doing this, they must realize that they accept responsibilities equal to their authority.

Purpose of participation. If teacher participation is legalized to any marked extent, it must be on the basis of the informal practice already established. Successful schemes seldom spring up overnight. There is usually a broad basis in experience before they are officially adopted. In other words, we prove the plan before we write it into law. It is important, then, to find out whether the councils are on solid ground in theory and practice, or not. To determine this point, let us examine their purposes, achievements, and underlying principles.

Five or six outstanding objectives may be distinguished. The established councils exist:

1. To furnish a representative agency by means of which the point of view of the teachers may be put before the superintendent and the school board.
2. To raise the standards of the teaching profession.
3. To improve the conditions under which teachers work, particularly in respect to finance.
4. To advise the school authorities on general educational matters pertaining to policies and programs.
5. To take a larger part in community affairs.

Surely no objection can be found to the avowed purposes. Let us next turn to the list of accomplishments, to see if they are in line with the purposes and of sufficient value to merit consideration.

The achievements of teachers' councils. The list of worthy accomplishments is a long one. Both local and State matters have come in for a due share of attention. In the thorough study made by Professor Sears, in 1921, we find councils reporting that they have done successful work in connection with the following. In all truth, it must be said that most of these achievements have been made without a legal mandate from the people. They have merely had official sanction, or what has been called delegated powers.

1. Making courses of study.
2. Helping to raise special taxes for school purposes.
3. Coöperating in getting the adoption of building programs.
4. Adopting teacher-rating plans.
5. Revising the rules and regulations of the school board.
6. Preparing new salary schedules.
7. Getting a teachers' pension law adopted.
8. Arranging for extension courses.
9. Assisting in issuing bulletins, on many educational subjects.
10. Advising the superintendent on a number of minor matters.

Almost every problem of school administration has been touched upon by the councils. While they have had no mandatory power, most of their recommendations have been adopted. The report is almost universal that improvement has resulted from their activities. The morale of the staff is better. The central authorities and the teacher understand each other better. Each group has gained something of the point of view of the other. We have the experience of about one hundred cities. All sections of the country are represented. They are sanctioned by the city superintendents with but few exceptions. Their contributions have been noteworthy, and have met with official approval. Let us turn next to their fundamental principles.

Fundamental principles of teacher participation. The term "democracy in education" touches the heart of the demands of the councils. It signifies, in the words of John Dewey, "that the individual shall have a share in determining the aims and conditions of his own work." With President Wilson the idea stands for "the right of the individual to live and be treated justly as against any attempt on the part of any combination of individuals to make laws which will overburden him, or which will destroy his equality among his fellows in a matter of right or privilege." Sharing in educational tasks is not enough; democracy demands

that all teachers also share in the planning and directing of education.

It must be conceded that no diverse views as between administrators and teachers are to be found here. Both profess allegiance to democratic principles. Both have a great common motive — the improvement of human welfare through schools and education. This unity of social, administrative, and teaching purposes argues well for the final outcome of the issue of teacher participation. The acknowledgment of the right to plan and execute necessarily carries an honest acceptance of corresponding responsibilities. Whoever accepts a privilege accepts an equal obligation to use his powers in the interests of the majority. Professor MacDonald has very clearly expressed this balance between the rights and the obligations of teachers' councils, in the following form:

Fundamental rights

To originate ideas regarding any question or problem having to do with individual or group welfare.

To pass judgment upon the ideas expressed by others, more especially those pertaining to group welfare.

To initiate reforms; to start something which is believed to be for the benefit of the larger group, rather than of a limited few.

To propose ideas of one's own or to promote sincerely and in-

Fundamental obligations

To be competent to originate worthwhile ideas, those that should command the attention of the serious-minded members of the group.

To be competent to criticize constructively rather than merely destructively; to get down to fundamental principles.

To think things through entirely; to anticipate fully the consequences of initiating and promoting any movement; and to be prepared to accept the consequences.

To work vigorously to get one's ideas accepted; to coöper-

telligently activities which are initiated by others until these have been finally accepted or rejected by the group. ate fully in carrying out the will of the majority.

Values in participation. Three views may be found of the values in teacher participation. At one extreme are those who see in them not only a means for redeeming society, but also for leading the profession out of the wilderness. They are doomed to disappointment. Neither social nor professional progress springs from a single point. They fail to realize that there has always been a great deal of democracy in American educational organization, and that a single step, though it be ahead, will not usher us into the Golden Age. To be exact, even when we get ideal educational organization, a long struggle lies before us in order to accelerate the movement of social evolution.

At the other extreme are those who look for the heavens to fall whenever a change is made in a system to which they are accustomed and in which they have a comfortable berth. They are invariably habit-minded. Forms of administration are fixed and second nature to them. They cannot adapt themselves readily to new ways of doing things, and so fall back upon denunciation and hints of dire results to come. They overlook the fact that teacher participation has existed in nearly every school system, that the tendency toward the wider diffusion of administrative rights and responsibilities has been under way in other walks of life as well as in education for a half-century, and that teachers are by nature and training inclined to conservatism. They forget, moreover, that if the public welfare is ever in danger from the teaching profession, the people are fully capable of asserting their authority. In other words, the teachers can exercise no authority without the consent of the State.

It is only just to say that not all ardent supporters of the

movement for teacher participation are impractical visionaries. Neither are all who oppose it to be classed as hopeless conservatives. The greater number in both classes see both advantages and disadvantages. The supporters of participation believe the advantages outweigh the objections; the opponents see little or nothing to be gained by extending the administrative responsibilities of teachers. Midway between these two points of view is found the great body of professional and public opinion. This intermediate group recognizes values in participation. At the same time, the members are not unaware of certain limitations. They are inclined to take an open-minded attitude on the question, reserving their final decision until we have more experience and more information. From the point of view of one who sees both sides of the question, we get arguments for and against as follows:

Advantages. The advantages in teacher participation are three in number: Participation increases: (1) the educational knowledge of the teachers; (2) the satisfaction of the teachers in their work; and (3) the efficiency of the schools. In the first place, it is pointed out that learning by doing is a well-recognized principle in the school. An understanding of the educational program is necessary in order for the teacher to coöperate most successfully in its realization. The classroom teacher also needs a broader outlook in education than is contained in her own field. The best way to get this knowledge is through helping to plan and carry out the whole general program. Participation is looked upon as a means of training teachers in service.

The added knowledge of the teaching force, together with their contribution to planning, helps to make the schools more efficient. They know what the plans are, and the considerations which were involved in their adoption. The belief is also strong that teachers coöperate more willingly and

more energetically in carrying out programs which they have helped to devise. The coöperative idea serves to bring more experience and more intelligence into planning. The practical point of view of the teachers will prevent the launching of policies whose success is problematical. They are in closer touch with the needs of the pupils, know their abilities, and know what it is feasible to undertake. The fact basis for planning is broadened. The teachers have access to valuable data which must be brought together if administrative policies are to be wisely founded.

The third advantage lies in the added satisfaction which the teacher finds in her work. She is no longer "a mere cog in a machine." She is one of the directing forces of the school. The new spirit of coöperation is expressed very well in the term "morale." It is characterized by freedom, by initiative, and by good feeling toward others, and is a sign of creative endeavor. The coöperation displayed, and the loyalty of all to the common ideal, strengthen the cause of education before the public. Teacher participation begets confidence, and confidence eventuates in better support.

Disadvantages in teacher participation. The disadvantages which are felt to attach to teacher participation are also three in number. First is the statement that efficient coöperation makes too great a demand upon the time of the teacher. Second comes the objection that participation means disorganization and confusion. The third attacks participation also from the point of view of school efficiency; namely, that the teacher is neither equipped by experience nor training to handle the many special problems which come before the administrative authorities.

No estimate can be made of the amount of time which participation will require of the average teacher. Inasmuch as the representative plan is usually adopted, not all teachers need to attend council meetings, study administrative ques-

tions, and confer with the superintendent and the school board. Only a few problems are attacked at a time—probably not more than two or three. Yet there is no denying that if the work is done well enough to justify it, the load of the teachers who take the burden of administrative coöperation is largely increased. One would be inclined to question whether the classroom work of the teacher suffers as a consequence, but it is not at all improbable.

The tendency in every field is toward specialization. Teaching is not and cannot be exempt from this tendency. It is a question for teachers to weigh impartially whether the added satisfaction which they find in participation compensates for the drain upon their vigor and the loss in satisfaction in teaching. The best way to put democracy into disrepute is to render it synonymous with inefficiency. If all of us administrating, supervising, building, financing, and teaching means that few of us render expert service, then the institution of education has a sad future before it. The larger rewards come only to those who become artists in their professions. Now it appears undeniable that the jack-of-all-trades can be an artist in none. The teacher who participates in administration will probably sacrifice a good deal of leisure, energy, peace of mind, and efficiency, to help do what other persons can do better.

The second objection comes from those who believe executive authority should be centralized in one person. Decisions must be rendered by some one. If there are two or more heads to a school, there will either be conflict of authority or irresponsibility. In the first case, turmoil is the inevitable result. There are as many factions as there are interests represented. One side tends to put obstacles in the way of accomplishment by the other, instead of coöperating. In the second case, even worse results appear. The council passes the blame for any mistake along to the superintendent

and to the board. They in turn shift the responsibility to the council. Because no one takes responsibility for what is done, neglect, indecision, and extravagance, if not actual venality, are likely to result. The schools become the prey to politicians and grafters.

The third criticism is the most serious one. The tenure of teachers is notoriously brief. Many of the teachers, even in a large city, might be classed as beginners. The average experience of superintendents runs about three times as great as the average experience of teachers. The teachers have had no administrative experience; the superintendent has had little else. The teachers have had no training in administration; the superintendent has specialized in this field. The teachers can give but little time to the problems; the superintendent devotes all his time and energy to administration. Only a small percentage of the teachers have administrative ability; the superintendent is perhaps endowed with strong natural qualities. Since only a few of the teachers will really ever be active, participation has almost no value as a means of improving the teachers in service.

Final conclusions. Nevertheless, participation in administration is fairly well established and is growing. The time is past for arguing its abstract disadvantages. It should be accepted as an accomplished fact. The next step is to inquire into what special activities participation may be carried most successfully, and what the organization should be. Future criticism will be aimed at the way in which teachers approach their administrative problems, the seriousness with which they prepare themselves for intelligent effort, and the amount of progress which results. Attention will now be directed to the questions, "In what administrative activities should teachers participate?" and "What form should the organization of administration take?"

Administrative activities for councils. No hard-and-fast

lines can be drawn respecting what fields the teachers should share in, and what they should leave alone.¹ If the principle of democracy is adopted theoretically, there is nothing to be forbidden them. In the interests of educational efficiency they may well leave many problems alone. As a general principle we may say that teacher councils may concern themselves with:

1. Assisting in the formulation of broad general programs, requiring from five to fifty years for their completion.
2. The laying-down of general principles upon which educational procedure may be worked out.
3. Coöperation in carrying out special programs necessitating concentrated effort for a brief period, as in the case of securing the adoption of a bond issue for buildings.
4. Supplying a means for bringing advice, suggestions, information, and teacher opinion to the school authorities, at any time. This may signify modifications of a minor sort, as seems advisable.

¹ In this connection the results of Morrison's investigation are interesting. He gathered the judgment of one hundred educators (ninety-one city superintendents, and nine professors of education and State superintendents) and of fifty school board members on proper activities for participation. He defined participation as "the recording of the judgment of teachers for the information and possible guidance of the superintendent, the board, or both." (From *Legal Status of City Superintendents*, 1922.)

SUBJECTS	APPROVED	
	APPROVED BY EDUCATORS (Per cent)	BY BOARD MEMBERS (Per cent)
Subjects to be included in the course of study . . .	80	42
Selection of textbooks	77	46
Determining content of subjects in course of study	76	42
Selection of instructional supplies	70	42
Framing rules and regulations regarding school procedure	69	44
New policies and new rules and regulations	62	44
Supervision of civic center activities	49	38
Selection of other supplies	48	28
Supervision of classroom instruction	46	48
Supervision of evening schools	39	32
Supervision of continuation schools	39	26
Enforcing compulsory attendance laws	35	16
Budget preparation	28	8
Supervision of medical inspection	28	20

Two divisions of administrative duties are often made. They are the financial and the educational. There are some who believe teacher councils should concern themselves only with the latter. To do this, however, would defeat one of the very purposes of participation — that of giving the teachers a point of view concerning the resources available for schools. Others would restrict councils to problems of the teaching profession, such as tenure, salaries, and pensions. To do this would defeat another aim of participation, namely, the use of the intelligence of the group in improving conditions that effect the pupils directly, such as courses of study, methods of teaching, and equipment.

A basis may be found from a consideration of our analysis of administrative problems in the preceding chapter. Five divisions were there given, as follows:

- I. Organizing.
- II. Executing.
- III. Supervising.
- IV. Accounting.
- V. Investigating.

As these terms were defined, only two are of such a character as to have particular application to participation. They are organizing and supervising. Routine executing not only has no charms to a council, but it is physically impossible. The same may be said of accounting. While suggestions bearing on the form in which reports are made to the public might be helpful, in the main these are determined by the requirements of the law, and always by the nature of the facts at hand. In the same way, investigations and experimental work can usually be carried on better by specialists, although the council may help to decide what the nature of them shall be. Supervision depends for its efficiency absolutely upon the coöperative spirit among teachers and supervisors. So important is it conceived to be that its fuller discussion is

reserved for the next chapter. The plan of participation which is presented in the paragraphs immediately following has to do with organization for general planning in whatever fields the teachers find opportunity and success.

Using expert service. Many questions which come before councils are technical in character. Only after a long course of investigation and experimentation could they be expected to express themselves wisely upon them. They may be forced to rely upon the judgment of men and women who have become experts in the particular fields. There are some who would map out a rigid course of procedure for councils in their management in respect to such situations. They would make mandatory on the councils: (1) the reference of such problems to experts; and (2) recommendations of the council to be in accord with the judgment of the experts.

No one is likely to dispute the advisability of consulting expert opinion on many questions. This procedure is dictated by common-sense. The council is certainly entitled to the presumption that it desires to know the truth, and knowing it to act accordingly. Any other practice would be disastrous to the plans which the council prepared, but it does not seem at all necessary to make such consultation compulsory. Neither should the endorsement of the plan of the experts be mandatory. Successful administration demands a margin of flexibility in order to make possible adaptation to special conditions. Any such scheme as has been mentioned here would deprive the teachers of all power and all initiative. Most administrative questions cannot be answered absolutely; some reliance must be placed on judgment. With but few exceptions the collective judgment of a group of progressive teachers on matters of this sort is more reliable than the judgment of many of our experts.

How to provide for participation. The representative

plan has been invariably followed. Existing organizations, the teachers of a building, the teachers of each department, or the teachers of a district elect their quota of delegates. The delegates form the council. Each delegate usually represents from ten to one hundred teachers. As a rule, a council should not have more than fifty delegates; a group of twenty is more efficient. Sometimes the delegates are chosen from the city at large by the teachers meeting in assembly. This is the best plan, although it is more convenient to vote by ballot at a special place, and on a special day fixed by the officers of the organizations.

The council plan to participate in State administration is as practicable as is local participation, as has been seen in the case of the California State Teachers' Association Council. Many State associations have made themselves felt in bringing matters to the attention of legislatures and State boards. Some associations have worked directly with the State Superintendent. Whether the legislature or the State department is coöperated with, there are several advantages in having a special State council elected for the purpose. It gives the State association more influence, insures better talent on the council, makes for continuity and persistence of program, and centralizes responsibility more closely.

The organization of the council. The method of organization should depend upon the amount of experience in participation which the teachers have had. Beginning schools would do well to follow the course of evolution. This has been marked by the following steps:

1. The selection of a representative assembly from existing organizations, schools, or districts. Where a single organization exists which is open to all the teachers, the members may be chosen from it.
2. Petition to the superintendent for official recognition of the council.

3. The outlining of a plan of work, including a method of articulating the activities of the council with the school authorities and with the interests of the great group of teachers.
4. A recognition of the council by city law or charter.
5. An extension of the activities of local councils to the State, and the creation of a State council by the State association.

In schools where councils have been in operation several years, the form of organization and its activities should be brought into question. It would be rather strange if no suggestions for improvement could be offered. In particular, such features as the following should be scrutinized:

1. The range of activities — Is it sufficient? Is it too broad? Is it too general?
2. The relations with the teachers — Do they help the council in planning? Are they informed of its activities and progress? Are they supporting it? Is the council autocratic? Is it run by a few? Would initiative and referendum provisions make it more democratic? Is it doing things which are worth while from the professional point of view?
3. The relations with the superintendent and school board — Are they characterized by mutual good-will? By sincere coöperation? Is any attempt made to restrict the freedom of the council?
4. The organization — Better definition of purpose. Better method of selecting delegates. Should the membership in the council be increased? Decreased? Should the teachers be organized on a different basis for selecting delegates?

An example of organization. An outline of the plan of the New York City Council is given below. It illustrates in a general way what is being done. As it is one of the older councils, it will also show the original conception of function.

1. The organization shall be known as the Teachers' Council.
2. The Teachers' Council shall have a twofold function:
 - a. The furnishing of information and of the opinions of the

teaching staff (principals and teachers) upon questions submitted by the Board of Education or by the Board of Superintendents.

- b. The introduction of recommendations concerning any of the problems affecting the welfare of the schools and of the teaching staff. Final decisions shall be left to the Board of Education and to the Board of Superintendents.
3. The Teachers' Council shall be allowed absolute freedom in its debates and deliberations.
4. The Teachers' Council shall be composed of forty-five representatives from such voluntary teachers' organizations as were in existence March the first, 1913, and of such other teachers' organizations as may hereafter be recognized by the Board of Education.

The list of committees of the New York Council is also given. From it one may see what the major problems of the organization have been:

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|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Records and statistics. | 6. Organization and administration. |
| 2. Courses of study and programs. | 7. Special schools and classes. |
| 3. Truancy and delinquency. | 8. Evening schools and recreation centers. |
| 4. Vocational interests of pupils. | 9. Professional interests. |
| 5. Advancement of pupils. | 10. Parents' associations. |

Fundamental principles. We have seen that teacher participation is well established. There are now over one hundred councils with a definite official status. At least one has been recognized by law. The chances are very remote that there will be any decline in number. On the contrary, everything points to an increase in number, an improvement of status, an extension of activities, and establishment upon a State-wide basis. We may expect that old organizations will be gradually strengthened, and that new ones will make rapid progress. We now have a firm foundation in theory and experience. Judging from these we may conclude that

the success of teacher participation is dependent upon the recognition of the following principles:

1. School systems are more efficient which are administered under a coöperative plan than are those which are managed by a few, no matter how well trained or how expert they may be.
2. The basis of coöperation is the understanding that the welfare of the schools and of the children is the aim of all parties. The idea of duty and of obligation should supersede the idea of rights.
3. All recommendations must be based upon the solid foundation of the full knowledge of conditions. When these are lacking, upon the best judgment available.
4. Councils are primarily for the purpose of planning on broad general lines. They are not to occupy themselves with routine. They are "action" organizations, and not "talk" organizations.
5. Members of the councils should in all cases take the impersonal attitude. They should put the welfare of the whole above the welfare of the individual and of the smaller group.
6. Councils should give full publicity to their acts, and should cheerfully accept the responsibility for them.
7. When a plan has been determined upon, they should see it through.
8. They should seek to improve the methods of participation wherever possible.

Summary. Teacher participation is not new. Some form of coöperation in administrative matters has been found in every school. However, it is only within the last decade that an effort has been made to organize and legalize participation. It is usually effected through a council, composed of representatives chosen by the teachers' organizations. While very little has been done to establish councils by law, in more than one hundred cities the school authorities sanction the councils and give them official recognition. An examination of the records of these organizations shows that very noteworthy contributions have been made. The

basic theories of participation are found in the democratic principle that every one should have a voice in determining the conditions under which he works, and that the experience, intelligence, and knowledge of all should be capitalized for the good of the schools. It is necessary also to appreciate the fact that the enjoyment of rights carries obligations of equal weight. A number of practical values may be found in participation: it benefits the teachers and the schools. At the same time there are some disadvantages. These are not insuperable. In organizing councils teachers should be content to make progress slowly, and to work with intelligence and persistence. Any plan should be democratic, flexible, and founded upon enduring principles.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Suggest as many ways as you can whereby the principals and the superintendent of a school system may share administrative authority with the teachers, without the formal organization of a council.
2. Explain why it is that the demand for councils has grown more insistent. Has the demand come only from teachers?
3. Is the introduction of teachers into planning of school policies likely to make for far-reaching changes in educational practice? Discuss.
4. An argument advanced against teacher participation is to the effect that the rank and file of teachers are not interested. Is this true? If true, is it a conclusive argument against participation?
5. Justify the statement that participation in administration carries with it commensurate responsibilities. Why should the teaching profession be quicker to recognize their obligations than their rights?
6. Is there any good reason why teachers should not concern themselves in planning and directing activities of the type discussed under the heading, "Achievements of Teachers' Councils"? Discuss.
7. If there is no difference in principle between the stand of those favoring councils and those opposing them, upon what point does a difference exist? What is the best way to get at the true solution of the point of difference?
8. Suppose that we were able to plan an ideal educational organization. Does it necessarily follow that results would be materially improved? Discuss.
9. Suppose you were called upon to debate either the affirmative or the negative of the question of teacher participation. Outline the points

which you would expect to advance, and the points which you would expect to refute.

10. It has been remarked that if teachers are to share in the administration of the schools they should prepare themselves for it. This implies the study of courses in administration while in training. What is your judgment on this point? In what other way could teachers equip themselves for the new duties?
11. Characterize the organization scheme of the New York Council as conservative or progressive. What changes would you suggest in it?
12. Work out a scheme by which teachers can be kept informed of the work performed by their representatives in the council.
13. Why is it a good idea to criticize the method of organizing the council from time to time?
14. Is it feasible for councils to concern themselves with minor matters and with the ordinary routine of administration? Discuss.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE TEACHER AND SUPERVISION

Early types of supervision. Supervision is as old as the schools. In our own country, it was first a function of the minister and the school board. The school was simple; supervision was equally lacking in complexity. The authorities conceived they had fulfilled their function to the utmost when they had visited the school and submitted the pupils to an examination. Supervision was in those days inspection of work performed, and was of little value to the teacher or to the school.

The next step in supervision was taken when city schools were placed under the management of a single official, called the superintendent. He was not much more competent than the lay boards to perform the duties now embraced under the term "supervision." He had received general training, usually of the college type. He often carried a heavy teaching load. Duties of administration laid a pressing claim on any moments he could spare. Almost no supervisory technique had been built up. Such service as the new official rendered, therefore, was of the traditional type — inspection and examination. The advance over the old method consisted in lodging the responsibility for supervision in professional hands. The way was opened for specialization in the new field.

The rise of the modern school. The need came with the development of the modern complex educational organization. In the days of lay supervision the teacher was the whole school system. When the office of school superintendent originated, our largest cities had only eight to ten

thousand inhabitants. There were practically no grades. There were no public high schools. There were no compulsory school laws. Only a small portion of the population was in school. The curriculum was narrow. Schools were all of the same type.

In contrast, consider the city school system of to-day. We have over two hundred and fifty cities whose population exceeds thirty thousand. In one fourth of these cities the range of population is from one hundred thousand to six million. Over eleven million children attend the city schools. The special problems which have arisen are legion. They arise in connection with kindergartens, elementary departments, junior high schools, and senior high schools. Vocational education, civic education, and health education have lately come in to add to educational complexity. Tests and measurements, opportunity classes, the project method, social activities, and any number of minor subjects have arisen to make their demands upon expert service.

American rural life has also been transformed. Its isolation is a thing of the past. Daily mail, telephones, radio, automobiles, and electric trains have brought the most remote areas into touch with the world centers. Consolidation and the county unit are bringing a new type of school into the country. Ten million children attend rural schools. The country shares with the city in its need for up-to-date and efficient education. Thus we find that while fifty years ago there were only a score or so of supervisors in the land, and those only in cities, we now have nine thousand city superintendents, three thousand county superintendents, six thousand supervisors, and thirteen thousand principals — a total of thirty-one thousand supervisory officers.

The purpose of supervision. Supervision serves one main purpose. This is the promotion of instructional efficiency. Teaching results ought to be better because of it, but how

much better we do not know. About ten per cent of the total expenditures for education go for administration and supervision. Assume that half of this percentage goes for supervision. It is unnecessary for education to be five per cent more efficient because of supervision in order to justify this expenditure. One per cent more of efficiency may be worth the added costs. The improvement, to be justified, must not be due to the direct teaching done by the supervisor. It must be due to better results obtained by the teacher, and as a consequence of supervision.

Supervision is nothing less than a coöperative undertaking. The supervisor is one who works with the teacher to the end that the pupils get more out of their school work than they would otherwise do. The teacher must work with the supervisor to the same end. This is the common basis for the outlay of the energies of both. The supervisor is not simply a critic and an inspector. He ought to be a helping teacher and a friend to the class teacher. His work is supplementary to the work of the teacher. It reinforces the teacher; it cannot displace her. While the relationship is distinctly a personal one, it is a good idea for both the teacher and the supervisor to center their thoughts on the improvement of instruction with the pupil as the object, rather than on the teacher.

Let us examine the program of a supervisor who has this point of view. In the small city referred to in Chapter I, we find the elementary-school supervisor has prepared the following outline of his work for the year:

1. With the assistance of the teachers, standards of achievement in the various subjects are adopted.
2. The position of each pupil in respect to the standards is discovered.
3. An analysis is undertaken of causes for the failure of any individual who is failing to progress at what is to him a normal rate.

4. A tentative plan of improvement is suggested:
 - a. Suggestions which are general in nature are sent out in printed form, together with any summaries of reports, lists of sources of helpful information, and impersonal minor instructions.
 - b. Conferences are held with each teacher in which specific suggestions are made. These are few in number, are constructive, and are based upon data obtained from (2), and from visits recently made. The product of the conference is an agreement upon a plan of procedure.
 - c. The teacher reports the success she is having with the plan, and asks for further suggestions.
 - d. As a means of objectifying certain specific suggestions, the teacher observes another teacher at work, or the supervisor demonstrates the point with the teacher's own pupils.
5. At the end of certain intervals the teacher and the supervisor measure the progress made by the pupils. If unsatisfactory, the methods which have been followed are again brought into question and a new plan outlined. If satisfactory, the inquiry turns to modifications which when put into effect will improve the methods being used.

The organization of supervision. As supervision is of quite recent origin, we should expect to find considerable variability in the prevailing plans. They vary, too, with the size and wealth of the school system. In a small school there may be but one supervisor, and he may be compelled to divide his time between supervision and administration, and even may be required to teach a part of the day. In large cities, several persons may give all their time to the improvement of instruction in a single subject. Following as nearly as possible the recognized lines of authority we may distinguish three groups of supervisors:

1. *Superintendents and assistant superintendents.* Except in the smaller schools, the activities of this group reach the two following groups and not teachers personally. They endeavor to unify school procedure throughout the whole system.

2. *Principals and assistant principals.* The supervisory authority of this group centers in a single school. They reach the teachers personally, and particularly the teachers of the regular subjects.
3. *Special supervisors.* This group coördinates instruction in a number of schools in subjects which have recently been added to the curriculum, which are especially difficult, or which are particularly important. While nominally under the direction of the principal in whose school they are working, they are directly responsible to the superintendent. Where departmentalization has made headway, special supervisors are not brought into touch with the regular teachers. In either case they ought to be looked upon as under the direction of the principal in whose building they are at work.

As teaching becomes departmentalized, the need for supervisors of such subjects as art, music, and manual training disappears. At least it is no more necessary for these subjects than for reading, language, and arithmetic. The duty of unifying the respective schools may then rest upon the assistant superintendents. In large cities each of these might be assigned a department, such as the primary, the intermediate, or the upper grades. In a very large city these supervisors might have charge of from ten to twenty schools, constituting a supervisory district. Instead of a division on the basis of departments, it might be made upon the basis of a group of subjects. By this plan we should have supervisors of language, of reading, of arithmetic, of social science, and the like.

Types of supervision. Supervision differs far more in efficiency than it does in forms of organization. Least efficient of all is the formal type. It is characterized by long lists of directions which the teacher must carry out to the letter. Supervisors spend their time in taking notes on the success of the teacher in carrying out the instructions issued from the central office. Uniformity is further obtained through a course of study presumably drawn up by the

superintendent. It refers, page by page, to assignments in textbooks adopted by the board. No options and substitutions are permitted; the course is the same for all. Uniform term examinations of the old-fashioned essay type are administered through the grades, from the primary to the high school. There is no adjustment to the needs of individuals nor to the needs of different communities. This is the poorest type of supervision there is. Its effects were plainly set forth in the statement of the commission in the Portland Survey, when it said:

That the system of supervision had not been developed into a strong system was evident almost at once. Looked at from the outside, and in the light of sound principles, the system at once gave the impression of lacking self-reliance and of being weak from over-direction from above. This fundamental weakness seemed to pervade the whole supervisory system and to extend from the top downward. The system seemed to lack character and strength, and seemed to be more of a system of inspection and reporting than a system of helpful educational leadership. It seemed to be suffering from too many rules and too little personal initiative, and, as a result, to be realizing but a low percentage of its possible efficiency. The over-direction seemed, in a way, to be stifling the growth of those in it and in part paralyzing their impulses to individual action.

In contrast with the formal type of supervision is the co-operative type. The very term precludes the idea that supervision is the job of any one person, or of a few specially designated persons. This means that every agency and means in the school system should function in the improvement of instruction. The supervisors should not be held responsible for planning and executing the policies of the school while teachers remain passive or respond half-heartedly. On the one hand, the teachers must coöperate fully with the supervisors in carrying out policies mutually agreed upon; on the other hand, supervisors must coöperate

with the teachers so that they will be most successful. Both must take the attitude that teaching is a coöperative undertaking in which each must make all the effort he can to realize the joint objective. This point of view has been well presented by Nutt, in his *Supervision of Instruction*, when he says:

The first principle of method is that the supervisor and the teachers who work under his direction must possess common knowledge, and hold common points of view concerning the school situation in which they are working together . . .

The validity of this principle is grounded in the idea that teaching under supervision is a coöperative enterprise; therefore each party to the undertaking must possess the means by which genuine coöperation may be accomplished. Teacher and supervisor must come to think in similar terms, and to talk the same language in the interchange of ideas. That is to say, they must see, think, and talk about the same points or problems. They cannot well do this if they do not start out together with a definite understanding of what they are seeking to do, and agree as to exactly how they will get it done.

Supervisory activities. Since the aim of supervision is the improvement of instruction, the supervisor may be expected to do whatever is needed to realize this aim. In order to keep on a working basis with the teacher, he should try to help where the teacher thinks help is needed. From the point of view of the general school policy, he should interject something from the program of the entire school. From the point of view of the special situation, some lessons should be drawn from an analysis of the actual teaching operation. These are summarized, in order:

I. Teachers claim they need help in:

1. Teaching pupils how to study.
2. Obtaining reference material, equipment, and supplies.
3. Planning recitations.
4. Interpreting the course of study.

5. Introducing new methods, such as projects and social activities.
 6. Making assignments suited to pupils of varying abilities.
 7. Determining the essential elements in subjects.
 8. Controlling restless and unruly pupils.
 9. Conducting drill work.
 10. Using objects and illustrations.
 11. Finding proper standards of achievement.
 12. Measuring achievement in a scientific manner.
 13. Adjusting to the level of the pupils texts that are too difficult.
 14. Keep the pupils interested and alert.
 15. Handling subject-matter.
- II. Supervisors interpret their duties as consisting in:
1. Putting definite objectives and standards before the teachers.
 2. Measuring the achievement of pupils.
 3. Diagnosing pupils' and teachers' needs through measurements, visits, and conferences with other supervisors.
 4. Improving instruction by means of instructions, suggestions, and demonstration teaching.
 5. Preparing exhibits which may be sent from school to school.
 6. Measuring the progress of the pupils.
- III. An analysis of classroom conditions in surveys shows that teachers most frequently neglect to:
1. Attend to physical matters, such as lighting, heating, ventilation, seating, order and neatness, and having materials ready.
 2. Prepare for the recitation in advance.
 3. Keep the group active and alert. On the contrary, the teacher may do too much reciting herself, or may favor a few pupils.
 4. Make indefinite assignments — often do not tell the pupils what to do, where to get materials, nor suggest optional exercises to stimulate the superior.
 5. Motivate lessons. Teachers should make use of games, thought questions, opportunities for display, dramatization, honor points, stars, etc.
 6. Stress the mastery of new materials. In contrast with

this neglect is the overemphasis upon and drill test materials.

7. Economize time in passing and collecting materials.
8. Make it possible for the pupils to help one another.
9. Have a definite purpose which they strive to realize.
10. Maintain order among the pupils not reciting.

Faults of supervision. What supervisors should not do is almost as important a topic as what they should do. This is a question that supervisors two decades ago were reluctant to face at all — possibly a survival of the old idea that the king can do no wrong. This is not the attitude of modern supervisors. They understand that sincerity between supervisors and teachers is an essential to coöperation. They do not expect antagonism; they do not expect criticism of the negative, fault-finding type; and they expect to keep clear of such offenses against the teachers. Such shortcomings as teachers name apply only to the untrained, ignorant, and unfit who, do the best we can, are sometimes found in places of responsibility. The following defects are the ones most frequently mentioned:

1. Criticism of the teacher before pupils.
2. Breaking in on recitations with irrelevant questions and comments, or with announcements that should come at another time. This is of a type with the supervisor who wants to be considered a good fellow by the pupils, cracks jokes, permits undue familiarity, and in general gives the impression that his coming is to be regarded as a holiday occasion.
3. Fails to follow the program when conducting a recitation, carries over into the next period, or leaves abruptly after having completed only a part of the task.
4. Visits classes, but makes no suggestions and gives no help.
5. Leaves notes with brief and often sharp criticisms.
6. Lacks a policy. Has no program. Suggestions unconnected and not far-seeing.
7. Does not stay in room long enough to see a unit of work completed.

8. Stern and reproof in manner, so that his coming throws a gloom over the whole day.

Authority of the principal. Teachers are often at their wits' end to know whether they shall follow the instructions of the supervisors or of the principal. This is only vexing when conflicts arise. Authorities on the subject without exception declare that the principal is in charge of the school, and that supervisors should be considered under his authority while they are in his school. If the teacher has received definite instructions from the principal on a matter, she should follow them. She should, however, explain to the supervisor why the course of action which he suggests cannot be carried out, and let him take the matter up directly with the principal.

In well-organized schools conflicts over matters of authority seldom occur. When some one has apparently overstepped his bounds, experienced teachers will not become disturbed by it. It may be due to over-excess of zeal which time will cure. It may be due to the fact that the lines of demarcation between the duties of the officers have not been clearly defined. If this seems to be the case, there is no reason in the world why the principal should not be appealed to to prevent future infringements. As the technique of supervision is perfected, and training becomes more efficient, the functions of each person in the school will be so well marked off from those of every other person that disputes over authority will be very rare occurrences. It is clearly understood now that, as between the supervisor and the principal, management and administration is the function of the latter, and that the improvement of instruction is a field of joint endeavor.

Characteristics of the successful supervisor. Any conception of the qualities of the efficient supervisor is merely a matter of opinion. Mirick lists about twenty items of skill

and knowledge in which the supervisor must be proficient, namely:

The supervisor must be an authority on:

1. The subject-matter used by the grades he supervises.
2. The courses of study.
3. General pedagogy.
4. Special methods.
5. Educational standards and measurements.

Must be competent in the diagnosis of pupils'

1. Capacities.
2. Grading.
3. Testing.
4. Motivating.
5. Promoting.

Must be competent in the diagnosis of teachers'

1. Abilities.
2. Limitations.
3. Incentives.
4. Promotions.

Must have exceptional skill in:

1. Leading.
2. Inspiring.
3. Teaching.
4. Securing coöperation.
5. Planning and conducting conferences.

In an anonymous article, published in Bulletin 7 (May, 1922) of the National League of Teachers' Associations, the suggestion is made that teachers rate their supervisors. A list of eleven items is named, as follows:

Supervising principal.

1. Executive ability.
2. Firmness in discipline.
3. Progressiveness.
4. Cultivation of initiative among teachers.
5. Sympathy.
6. Constructive criticism.

Supervisors.

1. Approachability.

2. Open-mindedness.
3. Fairness.
4. Constructive criticism.
5. Classroom instruction.

The two quotations are sufficient to show that no ordinary requirements are specified. In order to fill the position even fairly well, the supervisor must have on hand a larger fund of technical skill and scientific knowledge than any one else in the school system. She, or he, must keep abreast of all the new investigations that with each issue of the educational magazines are adding to the store. Progress is going on all the time. She must keep up with it. Moreover, she must bring to the teachers she supervises all of the methods, subject-matter, devices, and aids that they can turn to account.

The supervisor at work. On a preceding page of this chapter, the chief activities of supervisors were enumerated. At this point they are discussed a little more fully, with the object of introducing teachers to the point of view of the problems of supervisors. Only four are taken up: defining objectives, measuring achievement, diagnosing difficulties, and suggesting means of improvement. Certain standard methods of teacher improvement, such as rating, meetings, and professional reading, are discussed at length in other chapters.

Determining definite principles. The actual task of discovering definite principles cannot be performed by the supervisor. It is also too big an undertaking for the teacher alone. Only through the joint efforts of supervisors, teachers, research specialists, and graduate students in our colleges and universities can we finally arrive at the best methods and devices for making teaching and learning more efficient and more economical. Even by combining the abilities of these groups, the work cannot be completed short of a decade.

In the mean time, the supervisor has two duties to perform. First, he should bring to the attention of the teachers such principles as have been developed. Second, with their co-operation, tentative principles should be adopted. They will necessarily be the outcome of conferences of special committees. Experience and judgment, rather than research, will have to be relied upon. Nevertheless, as fast as new problems appear, it will be decidedly to the advantage of the schools if the teachers and supervisors work together in carrying out experimental investigations.

The best single source of principles and standards at present available is Part II of the *Eighteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. This, the Fourth Report of the Committee on Economy of Time in Education, gives the standards derived from the best investigations in writing, reading, spelling, arithmetic, drawing, and music. As an example, we quote the leading principles influencing rate and comprehension in silent reading:

Factors influencing the rate of silent reading

1. Increasing the amount of attention and thought to the content of what is read decreases the rate of reading.
2. Familiarity with the subject-matter increases the rate of reading.
3. The rate of silent reading usually increases as the amount of lip reading decreases.
4. Regular rhythmical movements of the eye are a prerequisite to rapid silent reading.
5. Ability to assimilate the content of what is read increases the rate of reading.

Suggestions relating to the improvement of the rate of reading

1. Short-exposure exercises are effective in improving the rate of reading in the lower grades.
2. Short-exposure exercises, combined with training in rapid reading, are effective in increasing the rate of reading.

3. Speed drills increase the rate of reading, but do not change the effectiveness of reading to any great extent.
4. Skimming in reading increases the rate, but may decrease markedly the comprehension of what is read.
5. Much reading of simple interesting material is effective in increasing the rate of reading.

Suggestions relating to the improvement of comprehension

1. Knowledge, while reading, that material is to be reproduced improves the quality of the reading.
2. Ability to read and to make judgments concerning what is read are essential in effective silent reading.
3. Emphasis of the elements on which meaning depends improves comprehension.
4. Rapid readers usually read more effectively than slow readers.
5. For a given pupil the comprehension of what is read decreases as the rate of reading increases above his normal rate.

Measuring achievement. Scientific measurement is one of the best means for improving the efficiency of instruction. On this account, the devices known as "standard tests" should be employed systematically. There are many important advantages in these instruments. They are convenient, interesting, take less time to use, and bring to light particular difficulties which the pupils have encountered and which are a bar to their progress. The great merit of standard tests over the old type of examination are two, namely:

1. They possess a validity which the essay type of examinations do not have. This means that they actually measure what they are purported to measure, and not something else.
2. They are more reliable than the essay type of examination.

Teachers and supervisors can realize four main objectives through scientific measurement. All of these are essential to good teaching. Without them teaching is a hit-and-miss project; with them it becomes a science. They serve the purpose of telling:

1. Where the pupils are.
2. How fast they have progressed.
3. How their standing and progress compare with other groups of pupils.
4. Where their main needs are and of what nature they are.

A host of reasons could be mustered in support of the foregoing. Take the first. Every experienced teacher knows that instruction must begin where the pupils are. If they are capable of handling fourth-grade materials, we cannot make them seventh-graders by pitching our instruction on the higher plane. Concerning the second, it is equally obvious that, if progress is unsatisfactory, the teacher must call to account her methods, her materials, and the grouping. In the third place, we need to know how the progress of a given group compares with others, not only to check up on our technique and subject-matter, but to get at other factors which may be responsible for slow progress. Moreover, we need to know whether teaching is improving at a faster rate than is signified by the test norms. Only thus can we tell whether teaching this year is better than teaching last year.

Diagnosing difficulties. The fourth reason is particularly important as supplying insight into the amount and kind of constructive and corrective teaching necessary. On the one hand, we may prevent overemphasis upon non-essentials. We may save the expenditure of effort upon what has already been sufficiently well learned. On the other hand, we may find out where and what kinds of difficulties there are and apply ourselves to their correction. These are brought to light by tests, of which Monroe's Diagnostic Tests in Arithmetic and Wilson's Tests of Language Errors are good examples.

The test method is not the only one that can be used to get at the teaching difficulties. The trained and experienced supervisor can, by observing a teacher at work, often show

her ways in which she can improve her technique. He may come into a room where the air is foul and overheated, and the pupils restless and inattentive. The recitation may be skillfully planned, the teacher enthusiastic and zealous, and the procedure above criticism. Because of physical conditions not conducive to learning the pupils have not progressed. If the reader will turn again to the list of things which teachers need, on page 141, he will find the occasions which are offered for supervisory direction.

Helping improve instruction. After the teacher and the supervisor know what the conditions are, they can begin the process of improvement. The remedial action which should be taken, as indicated by the diagnosis of pupil difficulties through tests, is so clear that the teacher is able to put it into effect quickly. For example, if a test in arithmetic brought out the fact that a certain pupil or pupils made errors in the addition of fractions, due to their combining the denominators for the new denominator, as

$$\frac{2}{7} + \frac{3}{7} = \frac{5}{14},$$

the teacher would know exactly what to do. If the supervisor is aware of the difficulty and the teacher ignorant of it, or if the supervisor knows what constructive or corrective action should be taken and the teacher is ignorant of it, it is the duty of the supervisor to give the teacher the needed information, and it is the duty of the teacher to put it into effect. In respect to these two problems, several ways of action are open:

1. The supervisor may give the teacher to understand what is needed by:
 - a. Writing to her.
 - b. Telling her directly, commonly called conference.
 - c. Lead the teacher to discover it herself.

2. The supervisor may give the teacher to know what to do by:
 - a. Writing to her.
 - b. Telling her directly.
 - c. Leading her to discover it herself.
 - d. Demonstrate to her. (This means demonstration teaching either by the supervisor or by a skillful teacher. The demonstration may be before the teacher alone, or before a group of teachers.)

The statements concerning the supervisor's function of directing and instructing the teacher are rather arbitrary. This situation of necessity prevails more or less when the supervisor is well trained and experienced and the teacher is a novice. It also exists when the supervisor knows teaching procedure far better than the teacher. When several courses of equally promising action are open, when the teacher is competent and has ideas of her own, when both teacher and supervisor are uncertain as to what course of procedure is best, their conferences are put upon a basis in which the supervisor may give full consideration to the ideas of the teacher.

Conflicts in point of view. The observant supervisor will find something good in the ideas and method of every teacher. It is a part of his duty to pass these on to other teachers. It is equally true that the best teacher can pick up usable ideas from a relatively inferior supervisor. She should acknowledge these and put them into practice. The trouble is likely to come when a superior teacher is brought under the direction of an incompetent supervisor. Under such circumstances a tactful teacher (and she will not be superior if she is not tactful) will have no difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory working agreement. In the case of suggestions, it should be understood that the teacher is free to use her own judgment whether she follows them or not. If in her judgment the suggestions are impracticable, she is not

to be criticized or penalized in any way for following her own devices. On the other hand, all instructions issued by the superior should be strictly obeyed. If the teacher is uncertain whether obedience to suggestions is optional or not, she should put the question to the supervisor frankly. If absurd and impracticable instructions are issued by the supervisor, the teacher has two courses open to her — she can obey them, or she can take the matter to the superintendent.

If the matter comes to the second alternative, the teacher need not be surprised if the superintendent backs up the supervisor. Except in very unusual and flagrant cases it is his duty to do this. Under similar circumstances where a pupil is concerned he should support the teacher. Nevertheless, with the facts at his command he may be able to plan so that the conditions which necessitated the teacher's going to him in the first place may not be repeated. Teachers should not find it necessary to appeal to the superintendent very often. They should bring only essentials to his attention. If a teacher is continually bringing minor matters before him, she soon gets the reputation of being a complainer and a busybody and receives scant sympathy.

The results of supervision. Both the public and the teachers occasionally question whether supervision pays. The former are concerned about the salaries paid out; the latter sometimes say they get no help at all from the supervisors. Eliminating the exceptional cases where supervisors are notoriously weak and inefficient, the fair-minded person must conclude that supervision is worth while. The teachers who testify to the opposite are very few. Survey staffs have been quick to associate inefficiency in a school system with insufficient and inferior supervision. Level-headed business men who watch profits closely believe thoroughly in supervision. They know that it pays well in industry.

We have some reliable data on the value of supervision in

teaching. Consider the many serious studies of learning which have been made during the past ten years. Consider as well the great store of successful teaching experience which is recounted in reports, surveys, books, and bulletins. If the best of the principles reached through scientific investigation and through practical experience could be put into the procedure of every teacher, how much more effective her instruction might be. This is exactly what the supervisor is for. Such books as Starch's *Educational Psychology*, Davis's *The Work of the Teacher*, Stormzand's *Progressive Methods for the Classroom Teacher*, and the Fourth Report of the Committee on Economy of Time in Education, are good illustrations of the methods and results of supervision.

Courtis (1919) conducted an experiment in geography in the Detroit schools to find the effect of supervision. The four groups studied were equal in achievement at the beginning of the test. One was unsupervised, one simply inspected, one supervised by schools, and one supervised by classes. The relative gains made by each group in the same order were 49.5, 54.0, 68.0, and 69.4 per cent. The best group gained twenty per cent more than the unsupervised group.

Pittman (1919-20) put the matter to the test in rural schools. The experiment, which extended over seven months, comprised forty one- and two-teacher schools in South Dakota. Precautions were taken to obtain comparable situations. Standard tests were used to measure subject results, and other conclusions were based upon quantitative data. The following conclusions are particularly striking:

1. Children in the supervised schools advanced approximately 194 per cent as far in the course of the experiment as did the children who were unsupervised. The value of one supervisor who could produce such results for forty classrooms similarly supervised is about \$40,000 a year.

2. The average daily attendance in the supervised schools was 76 per cent; in the unsupervised, 70.7 per cent.
3. Progress was steadier and more equally distributed among the pupils of the supervised schools than among the pupils of the unsupervised schools.
4. Ninety-two per cent of the pupils of the seventh and eighth grades of the supervised schools stayed in school to the end of the year, in contrast to only 69 per cent in the unsupervised schools.
5. The social life of the people in the supervised schools was promoted more successfully than in the other districts.

Principles of supervision. We need many studies along the same line. We do not know, for example, what kind of supervision is the best. Should it be by subjects, or should it be general? Should it be by the principal and his assistant, or by assistant superintendents? Is departmental teaching without supervision better than undepartmental teaching with supervision? Should beginners be given a special form of supervision, and in special schools? What are the relative values of demonstration teaching, written instructions, conferences, and visiting? These, with a host of other questions, must wait upon experiment for answer. At present the only thing we can do is to summarize such scientific evidence, experience, and judgment as we have as tentative guides to action:

1. Supervision should be constructive and encouraging. The negative and critical type usually fails to attain the purpose of supervision — the improvement of instruction.
2. Hit-and-miss supervision is a failure. It must proceed along a definite plan, which is known to every one concerned.
3. All suggestions and instructions for teachers should be accompanied by reasons for the recommendation.
4. The supervision of a school should be unified by the principal.
5. Beginning teachers should be given special help by supervisors.
6. The supervisor should differentiate between suggestions and

instructions. Obedience to the former should be at the option of the teacher; the second should be implicitly carried out.

7. Supervision is fundamentally a coöperative enterprise. If either party to the undertaking fails to coöperate, supervision is doomed to failure.
8. Standards should not be set which are so high or of such nature that they are unrealizable.
9. Inspection is a minor part of the whole act of supervision.
10. A diagnosis of weaknesses and difficulties should always be accompanied by concrete suggestions for improvement.

Summary. Supervision has only recently passed from the hands of laymen into the hands of the profession. At first it meant nothing but inspection; it now signifies coöperative endeavor in the advancement of the pupils. While the organization of supervision differs somewhat, more important than this is the spirit in which it is carried on. Arbitrary and formal supervision is destructive to real education. The activities of supervisors also vary according to the needs of the schools. In general, they embrace the framing of objectives, the setting-up of standards, the measurement of achievement, the analysis of difficulties, and the remedial and constructive work essential to make instruction better. The technique of supervision has been fairly well developed. Our main need is to make it effective in teaching practice. The test of both teaching and supervision is both in results and in the methods by which results were obtained. Although the values of supervision are often questioned, judgment, experience, and scientific investigation show that it pays well.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Do you think it probable that schools will ever pass under lay supervision again? Would it be desirable? Discuss. Which would you prefer?
2. Give reasons why professional supervision is more necessary now than in pioneer days.

3. In many school systems, supervisors are called counselors or helping teachers. Are these better names than supervisor? Discuss.
4. Try to explain why it is that the formal type of supervision is almost always inefficient.
5. Assume that you are a supervisor, and that a teacher applies to you for help in teaching her pupils how to study. Explain what you would do for her.
6. Justify the statement that supervision is a coöperative undertaking.
7. What should the teacher do who is adversely criticized before her pupils?
8. List the advantages and disadvantages of having the teachers rate the principal and supervisors. Would such ratings be reliable? Should the officials be allowed to examine the ratings of each teacher, or should they be kept confidential? Would such ratings be more dependable or less dependable than the ratings of teachers by supervisors? What is the purpose of such ratings?
9. Examine the *Eighteenth Yearbook* (Part II of the National Society for the Study of Education), and give examples of underlying principles in teaching. How were these principles developed?
10. Find illustrations in your reading or experience of the use of standard tests in improving instruction.
11. Authorities on supervision customarily recommend that supervisors lead teachers to discover means of improvement for themselves. Under what circumstances is it best for the supervisor to tell the teacher directly? When should the teacher and the supervisor search for a new solution to a problem?
12. Are there any exceptions to the rule that teachers should carry out the instructions of supervisors honestly and completely? Is there any reason why teachers should resent taking instructions from supervisors?
13. Give an example to prove that supervision is beneficial.
14. Name some of the problems in supervision which should be investigated.

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CHAPTER IX

THE IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS IN SERVICE

The need of improvement. There are four reasons why the problem of the improvement of teachers in service is important. In the first place, many enter the profession every year who are relatively untrained. Second, complete training is impossible before teaching begins, because the necessary basis in experience is lacking. Third, teaching is a progressive occupation, and unless members of the profession advance with it they will in time tend to become comparatively inefficient. The fourth and last reason is probably all-inclusive: the satisfactions of educational work, together with its genuine successes, come only to those teachers who maintain the student attitude.

One or more of the reasons apply to every teacher. Assuming that high-school graduation and the completion of two years of normal-school work or the equivalent are minimum requirements for entrance, then over one half of all our teachers are insufficiently educated and trained. It is estimated that one third of all the rural teachers have had no professional preparation. Only one tenth of one per cent have had special training for rural-school work, and four per cent have not even completed eight years of the elementary school. Some authorities maintain that no more than fifteen per cent of the total teaching population have had adequate preparation at entrance.

The motive for improvement. The desire for improvement should spring from the teachers themselves. Usually the matter is regarded as a duty of the supervisory department. It is true that school officials should help in provid-

ing the proper facilities. There is, further, a distinct advantage in offering incentives, such as bonuses, salary increases, and promotion. Nevertheless, whether material rewards are specified or not, teachers should enter with zeal and enthusiasm upon their own development because such a course satisfies their professional ideals.

Naturally, the needs of teachers will differ widely, and these differences may influence their motives. Younger teachers will be concerned to supplement their preliminary training in order to establish themselves in the profession. The older and more experienced teachers may wish to satisfy special interests. In other instances, the kind and amount of improvement will depend upon the position which the teacher holds. The positions in which there are the greatest opportunities will probably require more effort and study than the less desirable ones. Finally, the aims, ambitions, and standards of the teacher will act as greater or less stimuli and motives for progress.

The force of the personal motive has been recognized in classifying teachers into types, according to their respective needs. The highest class are those who are ambitious, and whose own ideals of excellence are the only stimuli needed. Another group is composed of conservative teachers who are sincere and honest, who possess considerable energy and learning, but who believe the old ways are best. Still another is made up of those who lack adequate preparation, are deficient in natural ability, are non-progressive, self-conscious, and who do their work in a mechanical and perfunctory manner. The most hopeless type of all are those who fall into the foregoing category, but who are not conscious of their deficiencies. Last, but by no means lowest, are teachers who are in the early stages of their service. Those who fall into this class should by all means keep themselves from developing the characteristics of class two, three, and four,

and should try to reach the class of superior teachers first mentioned.

Finding time for improvement. Lack of time is the excuse most frequently given for failure to advance in the profession. It is very seldom a justifiable excuse. It is never acceptable in other professions. Where the cultivation of the student attitude on the part of the pupils is such an important feature, it seems that teachers would not admit the lack of it in themselves. Nevertheless, because of the many and oftentimes increasing demands being made upon teachers, the time factor is one that cannot be ignored.

Very few studies have been made of the ways in which teachers use their time. Such as have been made reveal that rural and elementary school teachers are giving far more time to school duties than the regulation day requires. As an example, consider the average disposition of the time of one hundred and eighty-eight rural teachers:

Average number of hours given daily to classroom instruction	5.57
To lesson preparation	1.63
To extra-class duties, such as industrial-club work, correction of papers, helping backward pupils, school gardens, and training pupils for entertainments	2.77
To going to and from school	.47
Total number of hours given daily to school work	10.44
To recreation and exercise, such as reading, walking, and riding	1.70
To social affairs, such as dances, parties, school programs, lodges, shows, card-playing, etc.	.51
To shopping, housekeeping, laundry work, writing letters, etc.	1.71
Total length of a teacher's day, in hours . . .	14.36

Necessary allowance must be made for the fact that the social and personal affairs are usually attended to on Saturday. Even at that, a twelve-hour day for active work is too long. In addition, teachers often have their Sundays pretty well occupied with teaching in the Sunday School, acting as secretary and treasurer, superintending, going to young people's meetings, singing in the choir, acting as organist, and serving on committees. Teachers who find themselves giving ten to twelve hours daily to school and community work should at once revise their working schedules.

The first step is to find out what disposition is made of the day. To determine this, the teacher should keep an accurate schedule for a week or more. With the schedule before her, she should next go over it and clip off such items as are unimportant and non-essential. There will be very few who cannot save a few minutes daily by this method. Next, determine whether too much time is being claimed by certain activities. Many people do not have a good time sense, and fall into time-consuming habits. The next step is to organize one's out-of-school time as efficiently as possible. Window shopping and purposeless discussions may be eliminated, unless they fall into line with ideas of what constitutes recreation.

The last step in planning is to draw up a working schedule in which is reserved some time for personal improvement. Saturday and Sunday ought to be comparatively free from routine school duties. If community work is undertaken, it ought to differ from the duties of the school week. With two hours daily for recreation, and with week-ends open, the teacher should be able to satisfy her desires for social life as well as the general cultural interests that lie outside the strict lines of professional duty. Few people in other walks of life have so much time at their free disposal.

Following a schedule. After a time schedule is drawn up,

an honest attempt should be made to follow it. The first result will be that some things will be left unfinished or altogether undone that the teacher has been accustomed to looking after. After a time, the teacher will discover that the consequences of this apparent neglect are not so serious as she at first anticipated. Voluminous correspondence and long-drawn-out conferences fall into this classification. If experience seems to demand it, later revisions may be made, but the non-essential and unnecessary should in any case be ruled out. While working schedules will vary according to the type of school in which one teaches, and the nature of one's work, a typical program will appear about as follows:

Daily duties

- 7-30 to 8-30 — Preparation for the day.
- 8-30 to 9-00 — Preliminary work at the school building — getting supplies, conferring with children, putting work on the board.
- 9-00 to 12-00 — Teaching.
- 12-00 to 1-15 — Luncheon and rest.
- 1-15 to 3-30 — Teaching.
- 3-30 to 4-00 — Grading papers, checking up attendance, and performing other necessary routine.
- 4-00 to 6-00 — Recreation and rest.
- 6-00 to 7-00 — Dinner.
- 7-00 to 8-00 — Preparation of work for next day.
- 8-00 to 10-00 — Self-improvement.

Occasional duties

- Making reports — usually once a month.
- Preparing for entertainments — a half-hour three or four times a term. Most of such work should be done in school hours. Anything which is worth teaching at all is worth putting on the daily program.
- Parent-teacher meeting — one hour every two weeks.
- Teachers' meeting — one hour every two weeks. All time in excess of an hour given to teachers' meetings is usually wasted.

The value of two hours a day. Some teachers are disposed to underestimate the value of two hours daily for five days a week when given to their improvement. It often, though, means the difference between success and failure. It may make a superior teacher out of a very ordinary one. A debt which every teacher owes to herself is to make the most she can of the talents and abilities she possesses. There are a great many geniuses lost to the world simply because they have not developed their talents beyond the point of mediocrity. Many times, lack of opportunity prevents. This, however, is not the case with a person who has two hours daily at his or her disposal.

Two hours a day is forty hours for the school month. Nine school months means three hundred and sixty hours a year. This, combined with five hours daily for two months of the vacation period, equals five hundred and sixty free hours. Translating this in turn into school days of five hours each, the teacher has command of one hundred and twelve school days annually to use for her own advancement. This is the equivalent of nearly six school months a year. By using this leisure time effectively, for three years, one might complete a normal-school course. In six years, one might gain a university degree. By centering on a single problem for a year, one may practically become more proficient in the particular field included than any one else.

Types of improvement. It is not expected that the needs of teachers will be identical. There are, however, certain types of effort which will apply more or less to all. These general fields are indicated below:

1. The correction of special weaknesses or deficiencies in training and personality.
2. The addition of knowledge and skills along the lines of one's daily work. This includes the subjects taught, the methods used, and matters affecting the pupils and the community directly.

3. The acquisition of new knowledge and skills in anticipation of new demands, or to satisfy special interests.
4. Improvement along general cultural lines, such as literature, history, art, music, and current progress.
5. Individual contributions to professional improvement through committee work, writing, and investigation.

Teachers who feel themselves failing or who are uncertain of their powers may well afford to center on the first point in the program. In a situation such as this, rating devices find one of their chief uses. The teacher may rate herself, or she may request some friend to suggest to her suitable lines for improvement. If her voice is weak, harsh, or nervous, voice culture may be the first object of her attention. If she lacks the ability to use the English language clearly and correctly, she may devote some of her time to its improvement. If she is unable to control her pupils, she should try to strengthen her discipline by every possible means.

However, it becomes but wearisome work if the teacher is always concerned with rectifying some fault. She needs to regard life in a positive fashion. She need not necessarily be ashamed to admit certain limitations. She may even accept the fact cheerfully, and find consolation in developing new and perhaps unexpected sources of strength. These will most likely lie in the direction of her strongest inclinations and interests. The educational maxim "Know thyself" applies more emphatically to elements of strength than to elements of weakness. The teacher should not permit the pressure of present needs to keep her from excursions into new and promising fields to which she feels strongly drawn.

In this connection it may be well to say that the teacher should not merely learn about things, but should learn to do things. At the best, we are called impractical and visionary. Bernard Shaw has expressed something of this feeling of the public toward teachers in his oft-quoted aphorism, "Those

who can, do; those who cannot, teach." While those who know discount the comment properly, we may grant whatever small element of truth there is in it. Therefore, while it is worth while to obey the injunction, "Learn something new every day," it is even more worth while to learn to do something new from time to time.

Agencies and means of improvement. When Ruediger wrote his monograph on *The Improvement of Teachers in Service* (1911), he listed twenty-two available means and agencies. The number has since been greatly increased. Not only are there more agencies, but they are better organized, more convenient, and in general on a more efficient working basis. Every teacher, whatever her location, preparation, and abilities can find some means which she can utilize to her own advantage and to the advantage of the profession. Only a partial list is given here. The first twelve are chiefly independent of administrative enterprise. The remainder may be looked upon as largely dependent upon local school authorities for their availability and efficiency:

1. Reading along professional and cultural lines.
2. Summer schools.
3. Correspondence study.
4. Extension courses.
5. Self-rating.
6. Research and investigation.
7. Travel.
8. Participation in community affairs.
9. The use of standard devices of measurement.
10. Community coöperation and appreciation.
11. Professional organizations.
12. Professional ethics.
13. Adequate salaries and pensions.
14. Permanent tenure.
15. Constructive supervision.
16. Opportunity to visit other teachers.

17. Institutes and meetings.
18. Participation in administration and in planning policies.
19. Printed aids.
20. Freedom from mechanical work on examinations and reports.
21. Recognition for contributions to the school.
22. Occasional leaves of absence.
23. Demonstration classes.
24. Departmentalism.
25. Friendly conferences.
26. Encouragement rather than criticism.

Relative importance of these agencies. Although teachers have mentioned values in all of these agencies, a few are outstanding. Salaries, tenure, ethics, organizations, and supervision are considered as most significant. Because of their importance they are discussed in other chapters. Of those remaining, the first ten in the order of importance, according to the judgment of experienced teachers, are as follows:

1. Professional reading.
2. Summer schools.
3. Institutes and meetings.
4. Correspondence study.
5. Visits.
6. Demonstration classes.
7. Extension courses.
8. Departmentalism.
9. Research and investigation.
10. Community coöperation and appreciation.

Using improvement agencies. Reading is rightly regarded as one of the most fruitful methods of improvement. Two plans may be followed: (1) the teacher may select such materials as in her judgment best meet her needs and interests: or (2) she may follow out some organized course, such as are represented in the Reading Circles. Both have their advantages. In reading literature she cannot do better than consult her own tastes, always provided she chooses

real literature. In professional reading, probably the combined methods are most satisfactory.

An earnest effort should be put forth to read the best of the current materials along the line of one's own work. This means as a minimum the reading of two or three professional magazines, the best books as they appear, and an examination at least of new texts. In addition, there are certain books that may be considered standard in connection with one's general training. As an illustration, the following list of two dozen books is given, not because they will meet all tests which may be applied to professional books, but because they have been pronounced by capable teachers as the most helpful books they have found:

1. Bagley, W. C. *Classroom Management*.
2. Bennett, H. E. *School Efficiency*.
3. Bobbitt, J. F. *The Curriculum*.
4. Brooks, Eugene C. *Education for Democracy*.
5. Colvin, Stephen A. *An Introduction to High School Teaching*.
6. Cubberley, E. P. *Public Education in the United States*.
7. Cubberley, E. P. *Rural Life and Education*.
8. Davis, Sheldon E. *The Work of the Teacher*.
9. Freeland, George E. *Modern Elementary School Practice*.
10. Freeman, F. H. *How Children Learn*.
11. Gesell, A. S. *The Normal Child and Primary Education*.
12. Johnston, C. H. *The Modern High School*.
13. Kitson, Harry D. *How to Use Your Mind*.
14. Meriam, Junius C. *Child Life and the Curriculum*.
15. Palmer, G. H. *The Ideal Teacher*.
16. Patri, Angelo. *A Schoolmaster of the Great City*.
17. Sears, Jesse B. *Classroom Organization and Control*.
18. Sechrist, Frank. *Education and the General Welfare*.
19. Smith, W. R. *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*.
20. Terman, Lewis M. *The Intelligence of School Children*.
21. Thomas, F. W. *Training for Effective Study*.
22. Van Denburg, Joseph K. *The Junior High School Idea*.
23. Waddle, C. W. *Introduction to Child Psychology*.
24. Wilkinson, W. A. *Rural School Management*.

The Reading Circle. The teacher usually has three types of reading-circle opportunities open to her: (1) the local; (2) the State; and (3) the national. She should choose the one which offers the best promise of satisfactory results. In order to help the teacher make a decision on this point, and also as a guide to organizations engaged in formulating plans for the organization of reading circles, the following criteria are set down:

1. There should be a number of courses, extending over a period of from one to five years. Suitable subjects are: Methods, Hygiene and Health, the Curriculum, History of Education, Educational Classics, Educational Psychology, Educational Sociology, and Educational Principles.
2. Brief outlines of the books selected should be prepared. They may consist of topics, questions, and exercises. After the book is read, a short review should be prepared, following the suggestion in the outline.
3. Some recognition should be given for the completion of each course. A certificate should always be issued. Another feature may be added by exempting teachers who hold the Reading-Circle certificate from examinations in Theory and Art of Teaching, or by giving them credit toward a diploma. In some school systems, Reading-Circle credits count toward promotion.
4. The courses should be connected up with professional meetings. This may be done by having the books reviewed, or through discussions.
5. The completion of a minimum requirement (the reading of at least one book a year) should be a condition of the annual validation of the teacher's certificate.

Meetings and institutes. Meetings and institutes serve the same general purposes. They are needed in order: (1) to plan the educational policies of the whole system; (2) to discuss certain phases of school work and the progress of instruction; (3) to secure professional information and suggestions; and (4) for inspiration. Despite the criticisms

which have been visited upon them, they are a necessary factor in professional unification. Just as the members of other professions and occupations meet together in conference, so must teachers.

Building and departmental meetings are usually regarded more favorably than institutes. The most serious criticisms brought against these are that they are often time-consuming and rambling. Occasionally, they are found to be merely a place where all the complaints that have gathered for the month are aired. In order to make professional meetings really contribute to teacher improvement a few suggestions should be observed:

1. Do not make them too long. An hour is enough. The teachers are usually tired and nervous. It is usually a good idea for members of the group to take turns in serving light refreshments. Above all things begin and quit on time.
2. Do not permit complaining and fault-finding. The professional meeting is not a place for any one to tell his troubles.
3. Plan a definite program and carry it out. The teachers should be responsible for this.
4. Make the programs fit into each other. Select topics for a year's work. Center on such problems as the teaching of reading, the use of mental tests, the prevention of retardation, the project method, child health, community coöperation, and similar subjects.
5. Set the meetings at the first of the week, and dismiss a few minutes early for them. Tuesday afternoon at three o'clock is a good time, and twice a month is often enough.
6. Get a chairman who can keep a good lively discussion going. Keep up a good feeling. Be tolerant of the views of others. Try to get at the facts, not simply try to win an argument.

Institutes are more complicated than building meetings. They are more formal, and put a greater test upon those in charge. Teachers should realize these points, and assume an attitude of helpful coöperation. Some of the features of successful institute planning are as follows:

1. Coöperation of teachers in the preparation of the program.
2. The program to provide a definite and progressive course, extending through two or three years. It is a good thing to prepare one course that requires reading.
3. Features of entertainment to be at a minimum. Instructional courses to predominate.
4. At least a friendly reception accorded visiting lecturers. A happy and enthusiastic group always brings out the best in a speaker. The gloomy, lifeless assembly, looking for the worst, is most depressing to the lecturer.
5. Select a chairman who can introduce the speakers properly, and who has enough force of character to begin and quit promptly.
6. Add special features to the institute, such as demonstration classes, round-table conferences, reports on special worthy achievements of the past year, experience meetings, and a worth-while business meeting that formulates plans for better salaries, needed educational legislation, and a better organized profession.

Research and investigation. There is probably no quality so rare as the ability to increase the store of human knowledge. It is, therefore, very highly prized. Both by training and environment, teachers are well equipped to make contributions to scientific education. They have a laboratory always at hand; namely, the classroom and the pupils. Their problems are almost numberless. Not only can they arrive at results which are helpful to other teachers, but in the process they add materially to their own growth. Probably there is no higher type of satisfaction than that which comes through developing some new methods and discovering new items of knowledge. Although but few may succeed in making an original contribution to the world's wealth of facts, every one can strengthen his own powers by intensive application to definite problems.

A few examples of the latter type of "teacher projects" are given below. Many others will occur to teachers from

their own observation, and especially from their reading of books and current educational magazines. To illustrate, consider the following studies:

1. The interests of pupils — may be found for the school subjects, books and magazines, sports, social activities, occupations and civic affairs.
2. The racial attitudes of children — very important in the work of Americanization.
3. How the community can help the school — may consider the supplementing of instruction, equipment, and buildings through the use of community resources.
4. The unit-task curriculum in English, and other subjects. This is in a measure the application of the project idea to the point where each assignment will be complete in itself, and meet a special life-need.
5. The homogeneous grouping of pupils.
6. New methods of instruction — may experiment with the socialized method, laboratory method, and seminar method.
7. Survey methods applied to high-school subjects.
8. The prevention of retardation and elimination.
9. The best size for the class group.
10. Grading social activities.
11. The advantages in the platoon school.
12. Special disabilities in language.

Principles of improvement. Whatever the agencies relied upon for professional improvement, there will be found some common principles which apply. Given a fair degree of natural ability, the teacher can in the course of time attain about whatever degree of professional success she chooses. Among the most important guiding rules may be mentioned the following:

1. *Purpose.* The teacher sets for herself a definite goal or objective, and marks off successive steps year by year for its achievement. The ultimate goal may be placed ten years ahead, and various subordinate goals indicated at intervals along the route.
2. *Planning.* This principle requires that ways and means be

carefully canvassed, and the most profitable selected for use. Conferences with older teachers will often prove worth while when planning.

3. *Persistence.* The original purpose should be kept uppermost, and the teacher should keep on, even though discouraged frequently. It is too much to be expected that all will be easy sailing. One must therefore prepare himself to take defeat calmly. When a method has proved unsuccessful, the teacher should either correct its weaknesses and use it again, or try another method.
4. *Coöperation.* A great deal of reliance should be put in working with others. Such success as ordinarily comes to people has a social origin. There is more than half truth in the statement that a person is made by his friends, as well as by his abilities.
5. *Concentration.* The teacher should put all the energy she can spare into the undertaking. Half-hearted effort accomplishes nothing.
6. *Singleness of purpose.* One should not scatter his effort. The person who is trying to keep a half-dozen things going at once usually does nothing well. The best rule is to hit upon some single line and become expert in it. Well-directed, intelligent effort to a well-defined objective is bound to count in time.

Summary. Every teacher stands in need of some kind and some degree of improvement. She should not wait until the administrative authorities force some type of study upon her, but should voluntarily seek out means suited to her own needs and interests. She should first provide sufficient time by preparing and following a definite schedule. The teacher who is always swamped with school duties is usually inefficient, even in school work. In selecting methods of self-improvement, the teacher will be guided by her own needs and interests. She will find many agencies at hand to satisfy the most exacting, and, should facilities be lacking, the school authorities are generally very willing to help provide them. The teacher who plans her career wisely, and who works with persistence and energy, is almost al-

ways sure to be successful. Furthermore, she makes a larger contribution to the profession and to society.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the limitations in learning through teaching experience.
2. Consider the case of an elementary-school teacher who completed the eighth grade, in 1905, and afterwards spent four years in high school and two years in the normal school. What conclusions can you reach concerning her acquaintance with modern subject-matter if she has made no effort to study since her final graduation?
3. Observe a teacher at work, or keep a check on your own work habits. Report upon the ways through which time is lost through inefficient practices, and try to get at the root of the trouble.
4. What book has proved to be most helpful to you as a teacher? Try to analyze the source of its influence.
5. Point out the values in taking the positive attitude toward improvement, rather than the negative one of correcting faults and defects.
6. Try to classify the teachers you know into the types, according to their needs for improvement. Why are those teachers who are inefficient but unconscious of their deficiencies called the most hopeless?
7. Give some concrete example of well-known people who owed their success to the wise utilization of their leisure time, as well as to the natural abilities.
8. Discuss the justice of Shaw's criticism that teacher cannot do things.
9. Draw up a list of things which every teacher should know how to do. How far short do the teachers you know fall of meeting this requirement?
10. Pick out the five or ten agencies of improvement which you have found most helpful, and rank them in the order of their importance. Compare your list with the one given in the text.
11. Find out what you can about the National Reading Circle, by writing to the United States Bureau of Education.
12. Show how a group of teachers at an institute may help to make the program more successful.
13. Make up a list of the leading problems in education which you have to meet. Comment upon their suitability as topics for investigation.
14. Discuss the advantages to a teacher in writing up the results of her experiences and investigations and submitting them for publication.

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CHAPTER X

THE MEASUREMENT OF TEACHING EFFICIENCY

The problem of teacher measurement. The problem of teacher measurement is as old as teaching itself. The opinion basis was until recent years the only one used. By it teachers were classified as good, bad, and indifferent. The opinions were expressed by school authorities, patrons, and pupils, and dealt with such qualities as scholarship, teaching ability, disciplinary skill, personal appearance, and character. Crude and unreliable as these estimates usually were, they were often made the basis of election, promotion, demotion, and dismissal.

Of recent years schools have become better organized. Professional supervision has supplanted lay supervision. As a consequence the teacher has obtained some protection against criticism from public sources. Any unfavorable opinions regarding her abilities have usually been taken directly to the administrative authorities. They have also usually spared her the distress of hearing them altogether. At other times they have reached her indirectly through the success grade, rating, or efficiency score assigned by the supervisory force. Any action by the school board affecting her status has been based upon information coming from official and responsible sources. This is of itself a great advance over the ignorant, secret, and unreliable type of information which often characterized the earlier stage. While the official information may be unreliable, and in the beginning of the rating movement often was, it is far to be preferred to either the hearsay evidence of the man in the street or the general offhand judgment of a school principal.

The improvement of rating methods. Two circumstances have been in the main responsible for the improvement in methods of teacher measurement. In the first place, teachers have not been content to accept the offhand estimates of their efficiency, even when given by public and responsible authority. They have demanded to know upon what grounds the judgment was formed. They have inquired into the kind of measuring device used. They have been interested in knowing whether the measurement actually measures teaching efficiency, and not something else. They have asked whether the device may be applied accurately — that is, whether it is reliable or not.

In the second place, it may be said to the credit of administrators that they have also not been content with hit-and-miss methods. They, too, want valid and reliable measuring devices. It is probably as much to the interests of school authorities that teaching efficiency be accurately measured as it is to teachers themselves. It is perhaps true that as much harm has been done through the election and retention of incompetent teachers as through the demotion and the dismissal of the deserving. That untrustworthy rating schemes have been used at all has been a matter of seeming necessity, rather than a matter of choice.

Objections to rating. Almost innumerable objections have been registered against teacher measurement. Some of these objections have missed the point altogether. Too often they have been objections to any kind of formal rating. Since teachers have always been and of necessity always must be measured, every device that really marks an improvement ought to be welcomed. Some teachers have objected to having any one but themselves do the rating. Still others have felt that they detected a sinister purpose back of the attempted evaluation. Some have seen in the schemes employed simply an unreasoning display of author-

ity. Some have resented rating because they have believed their competence was being brought into question.

There have been some grounds for these objections. The newness of the methods themselves did not inspire confidence. Most of us do not like what we do not understand, and teachers were not always prepared for the introduction of the devices. Often the claims made for the rating schemes were so extravagant as to excite deserved ridicule. The ratings were sometimes made secretly, and kept from the knowledge of the teacher. Thus suspicion and distrust were engendered by the tactics pursued by ill-guided if well-meaning officials.

Most of the fears of teachers concerning rating have proved unfounded. Not very much has been done with the results. The cards have often languished year after year in the darkness of the office files. A few times the data recorded upon them have been used to effect the dismissal of a teacher. However, it is likely that she would have been dismissed even if there had been no official rating made. The real reason for the dismissal of many teachers has never appeared at all on rating cards. The official recording of the reasons is the best means of professional protection we can get. Yet whatever our conclusion as to whether the fears of the teachers were justifiable or unfounded, there is no doubt that rating schemes have introduced unrest and discord into schools where they were previously almost unknown.

Teachers have also been quick to see that some of the arguments for rating are untenable. One of the most frequently used is to the effect that any kind of a rating device is better than none. This is by no means the truth. There are measuring devices which are not as reliable as and do not possess the validity of, the pure subjective judgment. It is only when the value of the device has been safely proved that we can claim that it is better than none.

Again, the supervisory forces have often prepared the rating devices without consulting the teachers and without obtaining their suggestions. The one who does this may get an exaggerated idea of its importance. He is likely to be fully aware of its strong points, but very blind to its deficiencies. Others perceive the limitations in the device. They weigh the merits against the imperfections, and object to having the faulty instrument applied to matters that so vitally touch their professional pride, status, and pocketbook. That a person high in authority has prepared the rating scheme is no assurance that it is without faults. Generally speaking, administrators have taken the open-minded attitude on the question. Had all of them taken the tentative point of view concerning teacher measurement there would have been little cause for dissatisfaction. The poorest did not — of whom it may be remarked that stupidity of judgment is almost always associated with finality.

There have also been plenty of conservatives on both sides to keep the argument going. Some hold that the elements of teaching success are so many that they can never be isolated, and so intangible that their measurement is impossible. To refute this argument, there is the oft-quoted axiom that whatever exists in any quantity can be measured. Statistical methods have been developed until it is possible to isolate and measure qualities that exist in combination with others. In addition, something has been accomplished through the experimentation with measuring devices.

The purpose in measurement. The schemes which have been devised have been rather general in their application. The respective authors have seldom had in mind a single, definite purpose which the measuring device should serve.

This has served to subtract somewhat from their values, because the more useful a device is for one purpose the less valuable it is for others. Among the many functions aimed

at in particular or in combination the following are of especial importance:

1. *To select candidates for training.* The purpose here is to guide certain individuals who are considering teaching into other vocations because they lack the traits that will enable them to succeed in the profession. If we were able to pick out the potential failures at the time of the application for admission to the training schools, we should save them expense and disappointment and make the schools more efficient. It would benefit teachers in service, since it would eliminate those who bring the profession into contempt and who prove undesirable co-workers.
2. *To guide and stimulate students in training.* A frequent criticism of teacher training is to the effect that students lack goals, standards, and abilities to distinguish the essential from the unimportant. They are also unable to tell how much progress they are making toward professional efficiency. A measuring device could be used to tell them their standing at the beginning of training, to measure their progress, and to tell them when they had sufficient proficiency to begin service.
3. *To select applicants for teaching positions.* The main use of a scale in this particular would be to guarantee the selection of teachers who meet with the accepted standards insisted upon by the school system. Moreover, it would help to place the incoming teacher at the place on the salary schedule where she belonged. Finally, a good device would prove helpful in that its use would result in a decrease in the influence of patronage, favor, and wire-pulling in making appointments.
4. *To aid in the improvement of teachers.* Just as the teacher in training needs a guide and a measure of progress, so does the teacher in service. While such a scale might be much the same as for teachers in training, the points of emphasis would probably be differently distributed.
5. *To serve as an index to the right of promotion.* The term as used here refers to salary increases only, and not to appointment to a new and more desirable position within the system. It is this type that a superintendent would rely upon when recommending a teacher for a position in another school system.
6. *To serve as a basis for dismissal.* The same type of measuring device used in determining fitness for promotion may be used

for this purpose. As there is likelihood of grave injustice being done, the validity and reliability of the instrument used should be established beyond question.

Measuring devices: the score card. In carrying out these purposes a number of measuring devices have been employed. One of the most common and earliest types is the score card. In its essential particulars it consists of a list of terms which are supposed to stand for teaching qualities. The number of these range from twenty to fifty — sometimes even more. The list which follows is illustrative of those qualities which most frequently appear on score cards:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ability to teach. | 11. Daily preparation. |
| 2. Skill in discipline. | 12. Loyalty. |
| 3. Willingness to coöperate. | 13. Care of hygiene of room. |
| 4. Personality. | 14. Adaptability. |
| 5. Moral character. | 15. Enthusiasm. |
| 6. Neatness. | 16. Use of English. |
| 7. Tact. | 17. Reliability. |
| 8. Initiative. | 18. Interest in children and in the school. |
| 9. Professional spirit. | 19. Interest in the community. |
| 10. Scholarship. | 20. Progressiveness. |

Usually the same value is assigned to each item in the score card. If a total of say one hundred points is given, each of the twenty items above would count five points. It is of course obvious that some of the qualities are of more importance than others. Moreover, some of them probably mean the same thing, or at least overlap in meaning. It is very improbable if even the most unprejudiced person would be able to use the score card without letting his general estimate of the teacher influence his judgment upon every item which he graded. The final score is then not the result of independent judgments upon separate items, but a mixed score influenced by the general estimate. The rating

on every item is also further affected by the rating on every other item.

These considerations, with certain others, demonstrate that the score-card method is not wholly reliable. Yet it is not altogether subjective. Some of the judgments are based upon facts and figures, as well as upon what the rater thinks about the teacher. On the whole there are too many items on a score card. This, with the small number of points given to each item, makes one pretend a fineness of marking which is impossible. The result is that many in using the score card play safe by grading around the middle point. This makes different raters agree, but does not prove that the method is highly reliable. Besides, some of the agreement is doubtless due to the chance factor. Some of the scores would be identical if the different raters had merely guessed on the scores without inspecting the teacher's work. This can be taken account of, however, and is not a fundamental objection to the score card.

There is also some doubt as to whether the qualities which appear on the typical score card are after all real indexes to teaching ability. Most of them are general in their meaning. They apply to every other field of life as well as to teaching. For example, one could not omit many of the twenty items if he were measuring doctors, lawyers, or ministers. If teaching efficiency is a specific thing, distinct from efficiency in medicine, law, and the ministry, it ought not to be possible to measure it on the same score card.

The score card and scale. On the score card, qualities which do not exist in a graded series are treated. As progress in the development of measuring devices is made, the items which exist in an absolute amount are usually separated from the graded items. The latter are then put into a form which combines the score card and the scale. It is made in the following manner: After the names of teaching qualities,

from three to seven columns appear. Each column is headed by the letters *A, B, C, D*, etc. Numbers may be substituted for the letters, or descriptive words may be used, such as *excellent, very good, good, fair*, and *poor*. In rating a teacher, a check mark is put in the proper column and opposite the item or quality on which she is being judged. Thus, if one is rating a teacher on personality, and he considers her as standing with the best on this quality, he puts the check mark in the column headed *A*. The total is finally computed, and this constitutes the teacher's success grade. The brief excerpt which follows, taken from a rating scheme used in one of our large cities, may be cited as illustrative of the score-card scale:

Name of teacher Building Grade

DETAILED RATING	EX. A	GOOD B	MEDIUM C	POOR D	VERY POOR E
1. General appearance					
2. Health					
3. Voice					
4. Intellectual capacity					
5. Initiative and self-reliance					

The comparison method. A third device consists in the comparison of the person being rated with other teachers who are known to the rater. Qualities are listed as on the score card, and a brief definition of each is given. The

rater then proceeds to write the name of the best teacher he knows on the first step of his scale. He then writes the name of the poorest teacher he knows on the bottom step. He next writes the name of the teacher who is the best example of the average on the step in the scale midway between the best and the poorest. Similarly, the name of the next best teacher is written midway between average and best; the next poorest midway between average and poorest. To illustrate, he might have the following list of names on the scale for the quality "Personality":

PERSONALITY

GRADE OF QUALITY	NAME OF TEACHER
1. Superior	Miss Mildred A. Wilson
2. Very good	Miss Mary R. Roberts
3. Average	Miss Winifred G. Morris
4. Poor	Miss Doris E. Whitaker
5. Very poor	Miss Agnes C. Worden

According to the judgment of the person doing the rating, Miss Wilson is the best example of what "excellent" in "Personality" means. Miss Worden stands lowest in this quality of all the teachers he knows. Having his list of five teachers complete, he proceeds to rate other teachers by comparing them with the teachers whose names appear on the scale. Suppose he were rating Miss Englund. If he considers her a little better than Miss Morris but not as good as Miss Wilson, he would rate her "Very good"; that is, on a level with Miss Roberts. Minus and plus signs can be used to mark intermediate steps, and other steps can be added, if desired. Probably a five-point scale such as has been illustrated is the best number.

The pupil-test method. The latest method advocated for measuring teaching efficiency may be called the pupil-test method. In using it, the first step is to measure the intelli-

gence and the achievement of the pupils by standard tests. At the end of the year they are measured again. Achievement quotients for each pupil and for the class are computed. These are now two in number for each pupil and each class in the subjects which the teacher teaches. The first is the achievement quotient of each pupil and each class at the beginning of the school year. Second is the achievement quotient of each pupil and each class at the end of the school year. The difference between the achievement quotients is the amount of unusual progress which the pupil has made under the teacher. The individual achievement quotients are combined into a single average quotient for each subject. Subtracting the initial quotient from the final quotient in each subject gives the average unusual gain of the class in that subject.

To find the efficiency of the teacher, all the gains are added together. They are then divided by the number of subjects. If the sum of the gains is zero, then the final score of the teacher is average. The class has made gains consistent with its mentality, but has not gone beyond its average working capacity. If the sum of the gains is minus, then the final score of the teacher is below average. If the sum of the gains is more than zero, then the final score of the teacher is above average. The degree to which the sums of the differences are above and below zero indicates the degree of superiority or inferiority of the teacher.¹

Two requirements must be met in order that this method

¹ The following formulæ apply to the pupil-test method of computing teacher efficiency:

$$1. \text{ Initial Achievement Quotient} = \frac{\text{Initial Subject Age}}{\text{Mental Age}}$$

$$2. \text{ Final Achievement Quotient} = \frac{\text{Final Subject Age}}{\text{Mental Age}}$$

$$3. \text{ General Teaching Efficiency} = \frac{\text{Sum of All Differences Between 1 and 2}}{\text{Number of Subjects}}$$

may prove satisfactory. First of all, every factor connected with teaching, except those being measured, should be equal and comparable with those of every other teacher. This means, for example, that the length of the teaching day, the teaching load, the kind of supervision, and the equipment of the teacher being measured is equal to and comparable with those of every other teacher being measured. The second requirement is that the pupils be measured by tests of very high reliability.¹

This procedure, then, tends to make the results comparable if the two requirements are met. However, even if these conditions are met, one must proceed cautiously. Other factors than the work of the teacher may influence the results. Some of these were named in the preceding paragraph. Others, which doubtless have a direct bearing on the results which are measured by the tests, arise from the transfer of pupils from one school to another and from one teacher to another, the help which pupils get outside of school, the effect of maturity upon ability, and the cumulative effect of previous training from other teachers. It also necessitates trying a teacher out for a period of time sufficient for the results of her teaching to appear. While teacher measurement by the pupil-test method is promising, it needs to be supplemented by other methods of measurement.

Distributing results on the normal-probability basis. Principals generally rate their teachers as "average," "very good," and "superior." They rate very few as "poor" and "very poor." This has caused some critics to say that principals rate too high. They base their conclusion upon a belief that teaching efficiency is distributed on a normal-probability basis. If one were to rate on this basis, about seven per cent of the teachers would be rated "superior," twenty-four per cent "very good," thirty-eight per cent

¹ A test with a reliability of less than .90 would scarcely be acceptable.

"average," twenty-four per cent "poor," and seven per cent "very poor." The lower seven per cent would logically be those whose dismissal should be recommended.

With an infallible measuring device applied to hundreds and thousands of teachers some such distribution might be expected. Even then there is no certainty that such would be the case. At present, with the imperfect measuring devices which we have, the chances are against obtaining such results. It should be understood in all cases that what is wanted is a curve that fits the facts. When we endeavor to work out a measuring device that brings the facts to light, we can leave the form of distribution to take care of itself.

There are also certain problems as yet unsolved which arise when one forces his results into arbitrary percentages. Suppose a principal rates his group of twenty teachers and distributes his results to approximate the normal curve. Suppose also that at the end of the year all teachers that have been rated "very poor" are dismissed. Suppose the subsequent ratings in this school reveal more "very poor" teachers. If this happens, then it has been due to one of the following causes: (1) the new teachers who replaced the old have been rated "very poor," thus indicating poor judgment in the selection of teachers; (2) some of the old teachers have retrogressed; (3) the general standards of rating have been raised; or (4) the ratings are unreliable. On the whole, it does not seem wise to rate and dismiss by any such a scheme.

Principles for making and judging teacher-measurement devices. It is clear that much is yet to be done before a teacher-measuring device that is free from defects is developed. At the same time, some progress has been made, and many research specialists and teacher groups are at work on the problem. Devices are now available that are superior to the individual opinion methods that were used in the past. The way seems a great deal clearer than it ever was before.

On the one hand, we have recognized that it is not an easy thing to devise a workable test. Most investigators have reached the conclusion that the score-card type of instrument cannot be made practicable. It is probable that a test device modeled somewhat after the forms used in testing group intelligence or subject achievement may prove satisfactory. The results from a direct test of this kind may be combined with results obtained from the measurement of pupil achievement, and should give a fair index to teacher efficiency.

The need of such devices is urgent. Many schemes are now being tried. Others are being developed. As a guide to the selection and evaluation of existing devices, and to procedure in making new ones, the following principles are cited as worthy of consideration:

1. The plan should have a definite function. (See page 179.)
2. The items included should belong unmistakably in a scheme for measuring teacher efficiency. This precludes its use in measuring engineering, ministerial, or political ability.
3. The items should be independent of each other — they should not overlap.
4. The procedure should be objective. It should tend to give the same results when used by different judges.
5. The extent to which it is reliable should be established. For important matters, such as dismissal, no device should be used that does not have a high reliability.
6. Its practical application should be simple and easy.
7. It should be easily comprehensible.
8. Unless it measures the whole of what constitutes teaching efficiency, or measures what is highly associated with the unmeasured qualities, it should be supplemented by other evidence before reaching final important conclusions.

Using existing devices. In spite of certain shortcomings, existing devices may serve important purposes. In vocational guidance, they may be particularly valuable. Even a rough measuring instrument may throw the necessary

light upon a student's capabilities to enable him to decide whether he should enter upon a course of training for teaching or not. If, because of low standing on the most reliable rating scale we have, he should decide to choose medicine, or law, or banking in the place of teaching, there would be no serious loss to him, to the profession, nor to society. If, on the other hand, he should rank low and still feel strongly drawn to the teaching profession, under present circumstances there is nothing else to do but to leave the decision to him. A vocational guide can suggest lines of action which seem to him best, he can advise for this course and against another, but he can not and should not compel any one to follow his dictation.

Existing devices can also be used to guide the student's course of study. The rating devices, for example, point out to him that inability to govern a class is a frequent cause of failure. This makes it plainly evident to him and to the teacher in charge of his training that knowledge and skill in school government should be developed. The candidate consequently reads books and magazine articles on discipline, observes the method of other teachers, and plans his own course of conduct. His reading, his taking of notes, his observations, and his thinking have contributed more to him, because he has studied to a definite purpose, than the scattered, miscellaneous efforts of too many of those who attend school. As he is not likely to top the scale he cannot be harmed much by having his progress rated, from time to time, and such estimates may stimulate him to stronger endeavor if he makes a low grade.

Measuring devices and self-improvement. Since the devices may be used by teachers in training with some good effect, they may clearly be of some value to teachers in directing their own improvement. As was pointed out in the chapter on the improvement of teachers in service, the

teacher's progress depends upon her own efforts. In order to direct her efforts most wisely she needs to know her own strength and her own weakness. In this process a self-rating scheme has its chief use. There is here some real value in having a scale with a large number of items. The teacher may center upon some relatively small factor and build up her skill and knowledge, item by item. By this means she masters many of the refinements of teaching which she would never otherwise be aware of. As she applies the scale herself, and as her efforts will be influenced a good deal by her special interests, there is no great loss if the measuring instrument is not perfectly accurate.

Measuring fitness for promotion. Two features of this question deserve notice. Promotion means the advancement of a teacher from a position of one kind to a more desirable position of another kind. The new position may depend for its desirability upon the fact that it carries a larger salary, is a lighter load, is more in accord with the interests of the teacher, or means greater prestige. All of these advantages may be combined. Promotion also applies to the advancement of a teacher without changing the kind of work she is doing. The advantages which result may also be of the types which have been given.

Now for the first kind of promotion we have no scale that purports to measure the fitness of the individual. The situation is somewhat analogous to that which exists when an inexperienced teacher is brought into the school. The person has not been tried out in the new work. The best basis we have for judgment is her previous success. Yet there is not a shred of evidence to prove that success in teaching the primary grades (if we could measure it) is associated with success say in supervising the junior high school. It is impossible to measure at this time fitness for promotion of the first type.

In the second case we are confronted with a special problem. If the teaching load is equalized, as it ought to be, the motive of lighter work disappears. If the status of the fourth-grade teacher is recognized (as it ought to be) as being as high as the status of the high-school teacher, then the motive of increased prestige would disappear. The motive for teaching ceases to be love for change and promotion, but is found to exist in professional service. In this respect, the fourth grade offers as good opportunities as any other grade. This does not signify that all motive for striving has been taken away. It does mean that the only proper motive has been put in the lead where it belongs.

The salary question is also not so baffling as people commonly think it to be. The annual increments offered by the best salary schedules are really very small. The fifty to a hundred dollars a year does not offer an overwhelming inducement to the teacher. There seems to be no logical escape from the conclusion that the teacher who is worth retaining is worth the increase in salary which the schedule affords. If some special financial inducement is thought advisable as a prize or reward for conspicuous service, it could be granted in the form of a bonus. While competition for the bonus should be free and open to all, it should be awarded only for a contribution in a measurable field. Common-sense is doubtless opposed altogether to the scheme of using ratings to determine whether annual increases shall be given or not. At all events, the acceptance of the principle that all teachers who are worth retaining are worth the annual increment removes the need of a measuring device to determine promotional merit.

Measurement and dismissal. Dismissal of a teacher is too serious a matter to decide upon through the evidence one can gain from any test device now in existence. Seldom if ever has dismissal been based solely upon such results.

Generally the inferior rating bears out and supplements evidence of abundant validity in itself. There is a human side to this matter that should not be overlooked. Each case is almost always a special case. It should be dealt with as such. The administrator should look upon rules and regulations, rating scores, and efficiency standards as instruments of service, and not as instruments of tyranny. Human rights and feelings have precedence over system. It may be stated as a principle that, where dismissal is deserved, the case is so clear-cut and the evidence so voluminous that the standing on a teacher-rating card is superfluous.

Some final conclusions. The authors realize that much which appears in the preceding pages will be looked upon as dogmatic and inconclusive, yet, after weighing the issues and observing the theoretical and practical aspects of the question, the following conclusions are deemed to fit the situation at least reasonably well:

1. The measuring devices we now have may be used to some practical purpose in giving vocational guidance, in directing teachers in training, and in supplying an analytic basis helpful to the self-improvement of teachers.
2. The need of tests for promotion will disappear as soon as needed changes are made in teaching conditions. In any case, there are no devices sufficiently reliable to serve as an acceptable guide to fitness.
3. Absolute reliance should not be put in the results from rating when recommending the dismissal of teachers. When the point is reached when dismissal is indicated, the evidence of incompetency afforded through rating devices is usually unnecessary.
4. It is unlikely that any valid and reliable method of measurement will ever be yielded through the use of the devices and schemes which have so far been constructed. The sensible procedure would be for investigations to be carried on in new directions.

Summary. In recent years attempts have been made to make the measurement of teaching efficiency more accurate. Four methods have been devised: the score card, the scale, the comparison, and the pupil test. None are very reliable. In particular they lack specific functions. Because of their unreliability and of the extravagant claims which have been made for them, the devices have fallen into disrepute. There are, however, well-recognized uses to which the schemes may be put. One type may be employed to help advise students considering teaching as a vocation. Another type may be used to help direct and stimulate the training of teachers. Another may be used in selecting teachers. A fourth type serves a purpose in pointing teachers to programs of self-improvement. In matters of promotion and dismissal, rating schemes are, on the whole, unsuccessful. In developing future devices, the approach should be made from a different point of view than has been prominent in the past.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Discuss whether it is better to base promotion and dismissal upon the judgment of the superintendent as formed by many sources, or to rely upon the results of rating with the best instruments we have.
2. If you were to choose between being rated for promotion by the comparison method or by the pupil-test method, which would you prefer? Why?
3. If a scale is reliable, does it make any difference whether a teacher rates herself or is rated by a supervisor? (This assumes that both are equally accurate.)
4. Try to explain the feeling against rating which has been expressed by many teachers. Is there any way around the necessity of a judgment being passed upon teachers in one way or another? That is, can they, from the very nature of things, escape being rated?
5. What fallacies can you point out in the argument that any kind of a rating scheme is better than none?
6. Explain how equality in the teaching load and in teaching equipment would help to make rating easier.
7. What advantages can you see in the teachers helping in the prepara-

tion of a measuring device? Does it insure that teaching ability to the exclusion of all other ability will be measured? Does it guarantee that the device will be any more reliable?

8. Score cards were first used in judging points on live stock. It was found by this means that the inexperienced could come closer to the estimate of the expert. Does this necessarily prove the value of the instrument for rating teachers?
9. What objections to the score card can you advance which are common to the scale and the comparison method?
10. Suppose that you are measuring a group of teachers by a device with a reliability of .45. Suppose also that the results from the various factors when combined do not fall into the probability curve. Have you made your results any more dependable by arbitrarily giving the lowest seven per cent the grade of E, the next twenty-four per cent the grade of D, the next thirty-eight per cent the grade of C, the next twenty-four per cent the grade of B, and the top seven per cent the grade of A? Discuss.
11. Make a list of as many factors as you can which effect school results other than the teacher. What significance does this list have when estimating the merits of the pupil-test method?
12. Criticize some rating scheme in the light of your reading, and especially of the principles which have been enumerated here.

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CHAPTER XI

THE TEACHER'S LOAD

Meaning of the term. Like tenure and salaries, the teacher's load is a complicated problem. Many factors are involved in its complete definition. Usually we think of it in reference to the number of pupil-hours of instruction which the teacher gives weekly. Thus a teacher who has thirty pupils in her room and teaches six periods a day, gives six times thirty, or one hundred and eighty pupil-hours of instruction daily. Multiplying one hundred and eighty by five, the number of days in the school week, gives nine hundred pupil-hours per week. This is the teaching load. The same method is used for calculating the teaching load of high-school teachers. An hour means a period not less than forty minutes in length.

The pupil-hour factor does not cover the total amount of work done. It leaves out all duties outside of the actual classroom teaching. It does not take into account the fact that some subjects are more difficult to teach than others. It does not make allowance for the fact that some pupils and some classes are also more difficult to teach than others. The amount of community work the teacher is called upon to do varies with different schools and with different administrators. Some teachers do practically nothing of this kind. Others use all the time they can spare in visiting the parents, helping in parent-teacher associations, working on courses of study for the school, and in assisting in the study of professional problems. No real estimate of the teacher's load can be made that does not take into consideration many factors, of which the following are examples:

1. The pupil-hours.
2. The classes — age, grading, mentality, discipline, attendance.
3. Length of the school day.
4. Type of school organization.
5. Subjects taught.
6. Daily preparation necessary.
7. Amount of outside work connected with the class.
8. Amount of extra-class work.

Financial implications of the pupil-hour factor. There are two ways of increasing the teacher's load. The one most commonly employed is to make the classes larger. The other method is to increase the length of the school day. The larger the classes, the smaller the per pupil costs. Thus, if a teacher is paid \$1500 a year for teaching a class of thirty pupils, the per pupil cost is \$50 a year. By increasing the size of the class to forty, the per pupil cost is reduced to \$37.50 a year. Or, to put it in another way, if the per pupil costs remain constant, a teacher might be paid \$2000 a year for teaching forty pupils where she was paid \$1500 a year for teaching thirty pupils, without adding to the total expenditures for instruction.

When the load is increased by lengthening the school day, a saving may also be effected. Under the usual classroom plan, the number of periods the school is kept open is six. Under the Gary plan the school may be kept open eight periods a day. In a class of thirty in the first example the pupil-hours are one hundred and eighty a day. In the second they are two hundred and forty a day. While in actual practice the organization must be different, the principle remains the same. As an economy measure, the load of teachers is often increased in this way.

The largest single item in the school budget is for teachers' salaries. They absorb, on the average, about seventy-five per cent of the total. There are schools where ninety per

cent goes for teachers' salaries. The amount of money which schools can expend is strictly limited. There are, however, great differences in the resources which schools can draw upon. Some districts are wealthy; others are very poor. In the final analysis, the load which the teacher must carry is determined by the wealth of the district in which she is employed. If she is in a poor community, she will of necessity teach large classes, and perhaps in addition have to work many hours a day. We may expect that there will be considerable variation between the teaching loads in different cities.

Variation in teaching loads. The average elementary school has thirty-eight pupils per teacher. The average, however, obscures some of the significant facts. There are many classes much smaller than the average. There are many much larger. In a study of 1932 cities made by the United States Bureau of Education, in 1920, it was found that the smallest class enrolled only fourteen pupils. The largest classes enrolled "over sixty." The teacher who was assigned an average class would carry a pupil-hour load over two and one half times as great as that of the teacher of the smallest class.

This variability or inequality of load is as great even in the same city. Los Angeles has elementary classes ranging in size from fifteen to fifty-four pupils. As brought out in a school survey, the smallest classes in Butte, Montana, had eighteen pupils; the largest had forty-nine. In Buffalo, New York, the differences were even more striking. The minimum classes numbered fourteen pupils; the maximum classes numbered sixty-five pupils.

One is often inclined to think that such inequalities in the pupil-hour factor are inexcusable. The available funds are apportioned equally among the schools and classes. Often the schools are so unequal in size that equalization of load is

almost an impossibility. Yet the same situation is found even within the same school, and is in many cases equally unavoidable. As an example, consider a twenty-eight-room building described in the *San Francisco Survey*. One class enrolled twenty-nine pupils. There were two rooms with thirty-four pupils, one with thirty-five, one with thirty-seven, two with thirty-eight, one with forty-one, three with forty-two, three with forty-three, five with forty-four, four with forty-six, two with forty-seven, one with forty-eight, one with fifty, and one with fifty-one. Yet the administrative needs of a proper capacity-and-need assortment of children often require some such uneven distribution of children by rooms.

The high-school load. There is as yet no standard load for high-school teachers. Variations exist among the different subjects in different cities, and within the same city. On the whole, conditions are better than in the elementary schools. Some idea of prevailing conditions may be gathered from the table below:

AVERAGE TEACHING LOAD IN HIGH SCHOOLS ¹

(Pupil hours per week)

SECTION	SUBJECTS								
	English	Language	History	Mathematics	Science	Music	Shop	Domestic Art	Physical Training
New England.....	555	429	494	506	475	464	448	414	920
East Central.....	702	685	753	748	711	1001	430	498	1315
Southern.....	667	592	668	655	584	727	444	366	754
North Central.....	603	522	607	585	563	803	457	439	953
Middle Western.....	569	510	581	597	544	546	434	426	782
Pacific.....	575	552	644	621	532	685	533	479	942
Average.....	609	554	628	620	568	713	463	444	968

¹ *City School Leaflet No. 9.* United States Bureau of Education, June, 1923.

In foreign countries both secondary-school and elementary-school classes run larger than in the United States. In England, an effort has been made to limit classes to forty pupils. Classes of eighty and ninety pupils may still be found. In Germany, the average number of pupils in the *Volkschule* is fifty-five. The general city average is forty-nine. France assigns a maximum of fifty pupils to the teacher. In Italy the National Union of Teachers recommends classes of twenty-five; in actual practice the average class has forty-eight pupils. In universities and colleges in this country, classes of two hundred pupils are quite common, while classes of one thousand, and even of eighteen hundred, are not unknown. It was not uncommon for a teacher in the early Lancastrian schools to instruct five hundred pupils.

The teaching load and teaching results. The North Central Association of Secondary Schools limits the size of classes among its membership to twenty-five students. The Federal Board for Vocational Education prescribes twelve pupils as the maximum in shop work. Survey staffs commonly recommend thirty pupils as the maximum in elementary schools. At the same time the feeling has been general that classes of twenty are desirable in high schools, and classes of twenty-five in the grades. Educators have almost without exception, until within the last few years, believed that the smaller the class the greater the efficiency of the instruction.

Investigations do not bear out the belief. Four methods have been followed in studying the problem. They are: (1) the use of educational tests to measure the progress of pupils in classes of varying sizes; (2) the annual promotion rate of both large and small classes; (3) the progress of pupils in controlled groups; and (4) the judgment of teachers and supervisors. The summaries below give the methods and the findings:

1. *The test method:* Rice (1896) tested six thousand children in arithmetic and eight thousand children in language. He reached the conclusion that there "is no relationship between the size of the class and the results."

Elliott (1914) measured the achievement of forty classes in spelling, penmanship, arithmetic, and English composition. He concluded that "the results show no correlation between class size and attainment."

Harlan (1915) used the Courtis arithmetic tests to measure six hundred and seventy-five classes. He found the best showing was made by the groups containing from thirty-six to forty-five pupils.

2. *The percentage-promoted method:* Cornman (1909) studied the annual promotion rate in three hundred classes. He found that while the medium-sized classes made the best showing, size of class is not an important factor in the determination of progress.

Boyer (1913), using the same method, found no connection.

Bachman (1915) states that for practical purposes the conditions are the same for all classes of fifty and under.

Elliott (1914) correlated the number of pupils in the classes with the percentage promoted. He found no relationship of significance between the two.

3. *The experimental method:* Breedy and McCarthy (1916) conducted an experiment in spelling. They had eighty-two classes. Uniform methods and materials were used. The larger classes were found to surpass the smaller. There was gradual improvement from twenty-five to forty-five pupils, and thereafter a decrease in efficiency.

Stevenson (1922) compared the attainments of groups practically equal in mental age. They were taught by the same teacher. His classes ranged in size from thirty-three to fifty-four. He states that "there is little difference between the results obtained in large classes and in small classes."

Almack (1923) studied the progress of pupils in small classes with the progress made by the same pupils in large classes. The groups were taught the same subject by the same teacher, and were approximately equal in mental age. Although the evidence was somewhat conflicting, the usual conclusion was warranted, namely, that the results are independent of the size of the groups.

4. *The judgment method:* Almack (1923) also collected the judgment of teachers, superintendents, and normal-school supervisors on the subject. Teachers believe twenty-five pupils make the best-sized group. Superintendents favor thirty. Normal-school supervisors recommend twenty. The teachers ranking higher in experience and training place greater confidence in the reliability of their judgments. It is altogether possible that the judgment of teachers fits pretty accurately facts unaccounted for in other methods of investigation. At all events, there is no more reason why a baseless prejudice should have grown up in the minds of teachers against large classes any more than against small classes.

Class size and discipline. Whether large classes are harder to govern than small is a mooted question. If poor discipline would itself be reflected in unsatisfactory results in arithmetic, language, and spelling, the fact did not manifest itself in the first three methods of investigation listed above. In the fourth type of investigation it was brought out that in the judgment of educators there is a high correlation between class size and difficulties in discipline. As discipline is one of the most frequent causes of teacher failure, the profession should consider seriously this point. If it can be demonstrated that a teacher multiplies the chances of failure by taking a class of fifty pupils, rather than a class of twenty-five, she will take over the large class very reluctantly.

It is a matter of common observation that a few pupils are responsible for disciplinary troubles. How often one hears a teacher say that she would have no discipline problem at all if she could only get rid of this boy or that girl. Larger classes increase the chances of getting these troublesome cases. Probably this explains why teachers feel that large classes are harder to control. If a means is devised to care for the difficult cases, objections to large classes on this score would tend to disappear.

Discipline, however, implies a great deal more than classroom management and government. It may be applied to the social and civic attitudes, ideals, and habits of the children. Should it be proved that tendencies to delinquency are associated with larger classes, arguments favorable to the large groups would lose some of their significance. On this point, we unfortunately lack facts altogether. The problem can be mentioned only as one worthy of investigation. It appears likely that teachers take such factors into account in registering their judgments, rather than test results.

Class size and demands upon teacher energy. This aspect of the teacher's load is inferred in all studies that have been made of the subject. Conclusions are decidedly few and not without limitations, because there is no reliable method for measuring the amount of energy it takes to teach a class of twenty and a class of forty. Or, to put the matter in a negative way, we have no reliable method for measuring fatigue. It is recognized that teaching fifty pupils means more papers to grade, more individual help to give, and more attendance to check. But there is uncertainty whether, aside from these points, a greater demand is made upon the strength of the teacher by a class of forty pupils than by a class of twenty-five pupils.

The judgment method has also been used in an attempt to answer this question. It was believed that teachers can report accurately on whether they "feel" that forty pupils make a greater demand upon their energies than twenty-five. There is pronounced agreement in the judgments of over one thousand experienced teachers. They state that twenty-five pupils can be taught as easily as fifteen. As classes go upward from twenty-five, fatigue becomes more and more apparent. A class of sixty pupils is regarded as the permissible upper limits by the most optimistic teacher.

At the same time teachers may be observed teaching groups of seventy-five children with apparent ease. While unusual teaching ability seems the most plausible explanation, it may be found in the training of teachers. Most practice teaching is done with small groups. Not only is this due to the belief of critic teachers that small classes can be taught more effectively, but also to the impossibility of providing large classes for the many student teachers in the ordinary type of training school. The technique of teaching is therefore adapted to small groups. Teachers who handle large classes successfully have worked out a new technique suited to the different conditions. It would surely be worth while for training schools to give their students instruction and practice in teaching large classes, and for methods of the same kind to be demonstrated in city schools.

Important conclusions concerning class size. In the face of so much that is contradictory and unsettled, there are few definite conclusions as yet which are justified. Some apply quite specifically to certain schools, but are without meaning when applied to other schools. The statements that follow may therefore be looked upon mainly as suggestions to be discussed and tested out:

1. Inasmuch as the cost of maintaining schools is almost in inverse proportion to the size of the classes, teachers and administrators may consider whether it is better to teach larger classes at larger salaries than smaller classes at smaller salaries.
2. Evidence based upon test and promotional results show that the efficiency of instruction is not dependent upon the size of the group.
3. Experience has demonstrated nearly everywhere that larger classes can be taught with no serious consequences to the teacher's health.
4. Success in teaching large classes is mainly dependent upon the teacher's knowledge of special large class technique.

5. Special devices should be employed by teachers of large classes to cut down the amount of grading of papers.
6. Discipline cases in large classes should be put into special classes in order that the discipline load of the class teacher may be reduced.
7. Steps should be taken at once by school authorities better to equalize the pupil-hour load of teachers.
8. The technique of teaching large classes should be developed as rapidly as possible, and brought to the attention of teachers.

Other factors in the teacher's load. No more than a mention can be made here of the most important of the many other factors making up the teacher's load. Over fifty individual items are catalogued by Superintendent S. W. Johnson, in the issue of the *American School Board Journal* of November, 1921. These fall into eight great classes, as follows:

	PER CENT
1. Attitude of pupils towards school.....	10.
2. Classroom instruction.....	42.5
3. Discipline.....	9.5
4. Professional growth.....	10.
5. School organization.....	10.
6. School activities.....	6.5
7. Community activities.....	6.0
8. Tenure.....	5.0

This study shows that less than one half of the teacher's load is comprised in the pupil-hour factor. Discipline on the playgrounds, in the halls, and in the assembly is just as serious a problem as classroom control. Attitudes of pupils, which are themselves discipline problems, raise the total to half the importance of instruction. It is probable that the activities-load also has a large discipline element within it.

The number of classes is rated about as high as the size of classes. Quoting Professor Strayer, four classes a day are

recommended for high-school teachers. Preparation is intimately associated with the number and kind of subjects taught. A teacher doing departmental work can carry over something from one class to the others. If she happens to teach the same grade in the same subject each period, the amount of preparation is inconsiderable compared with that of an elementary-school teacher who has fifteen to twenty-four classes, no two of which are the same. An experienced teacher will also find somewhat less need of daily preparation than a beginner. At least he may economize time in finding references, getting illustrations, and planning assignments.

The large emphasis put upon social activities in the junior and senior high schools is rather conclusive evidence of the truth of the statement that only one half of the teacher's salary can be earned in instruction. Many teachers do nothing whatever in this line. The burden of others is consequently made heavier. The range of the demands is much the same for every school. It embraces the coaching of debate, athletics, the management of assemblies, coaching and managing plays, training pupils for entertainments, helping with school fairs, school papers, visiting days, lunches, sales, Boy and Girl Scouts, the Junior Red Cross, school parties, and many other similar activities. It is rather surprising that teachers attribute no more than 6.5 per cent of their load to this field.

Other factors in the grade teacher's load. A number of interesting studies of the grade teacher's load have been carried on. These have brought out points touching other factors than the pupil-hour factor. Among the many, the following are worth citing:

1. The present classification is not conducive to effective work. One hundred and twenty-five teachers report from one to five misfits in their rooms. Fifty-five report from five to ten, and fourteen say they have ten and more misplaced pupils.

Mixed grades, uneven divisions, differences in mentality, and over-size classes are held responsible for the presence of the misfits.

2. Unnecessary infringements upon the teacher's time add to the load. For example, sixty minutes a month were given to banking the savings of the children; nurse's and doctor's visits took up forty minutes; triple posture tests occupied thirty-five minutes; preparations for contests, exhibitions, and entertainments, one hundred and thirty minutes; parent-teacher meetings, thirty minutes.

It must be remarked that all of these are legitimate demands upon the teacher's time, and perhaps more valuable to the children and to the community than the use of the same amount of time in teaching the conventional subjects. The seven hours a month which are listed are about twenty minutes a day — hardly enough to notice even when totaled.

3. Hindrances to efficient work are also tabulated. These may be regarded as adding to the load, inasmuch as they make the teacher's work difficult, are annoying, and hamper her efficiency. Among these may be given shortage of textbooks and reference material; failure of the school to provide supplies; poorly lighted, poorly heated, and ill-ventilated rooms; too much clerical work; etc.
4. A number of suggestions are given by the teachers for stabilizing and equating the teacher's load. These include: (1) a more definite course of study; (2) a more liberal time allotment which will permit the teacher to take care of what are now termed "unnecessary infringements"; (3) better classification; (4) fewer pupils, grades, and divisions to the teacher; (5) departmental work; (6) better equalization of organization duties; (7) subordination of special subjects, such as music and drawing; (8) more textbooks; and (9) the elimination of all records which are of doubtful value.

A dominant note in the returns is the appeal of teachers for a lighter program of school and community activities. With these the petition is for a "return to conducting schools for school work." On the one hand is a force of supervisors allotting work that absorbs every minute of the available class time. Still more is pressure from leading citizens, civic

clubs, and all kinds of organizations for coöperation in campaigns, drives, and programs. Interruptions are sometimes permitted by the principal, and visitors appeal directly to the teacher for permission to make speeches, take up collections, and for support of out-of-school affairs. In addition, there is the whole round of student and community interests of an organized kind which the teacher is called upon to counsel, direct, and develop.

Improving conditions. One must admit that conditions are unsatisfactory, and that teachers have a real cause for complaint. No plan of improvement is likely to be approved by all concerned. Because of the continuous changes which take place outside of the school, no plan can be considered permanent. If the phrase "conducting school work" means simply the giving of formal class instruction in the conventional subjects, then teachers who long for it are foredoomed to disappointment. New subjects will always be knocking at the door of the school for admittance. New content will be entering constantly. Much of the old will be eliminated. More of it will be crowded into a smaller space. The entrance of the new means that the teacher will have to learn about it. She cannot reasonably hope for a period of undisturbed quiet in which she instructs children of to-day in the same skills, knowledge, and attitudes in which she gave the instruction of yesterday. The world is changing rapidly, and the schools must recognize and meet the change.

Stabilizing the teacher's load. There are limits, however, within which something can be done. The teacher has a right to a reasonably stable load. This means that she should know, within limits of slight variation, what is expected of her every day. If the teaching of thrift is to be one of her duties, it should appear on the weekly time-schedule with its proper time allotment. If it is scheduled for a

fifteen-minute period every Friday morning at nine o'clock, then only on few occasions, and for perfectly good reasons, should the schedule be departed from. No outside interest should be brought into the school without the sanction of the principal. It would be well if an advisory period, study period, or miscellaneous period might be set aside for the casual affairs that now work havoc in the daily routine and cause the teacher no end of annoyance and aggravation.

Equalizing the teacher's load. The loads of teachers should be approximately equal. It is manifestly unfair, if we can take the matter at face value, to expect one teacher to handle two divisions of twenty pupils each while another has a single group of equal ability of only fifteen pupils. It is certainly unfair for one teacher to carry a pupil-hour teaching load that equals that of others, and in addition take the responsibility of supervising the playground, coaching athletics, managing assemblies, sponsoring school parties, and keeping the parent-teacher association moving. Yet the interesting thing is that the teacher who carries this larger load, due to better training, larger experience, good health, deep interest in the work, and large enthusiasm, often seems to carry the larger load more easily than many teachers carry a much smaller one.

The factors involved do not easily lend themselves to measurement. Data are also very scarce that will help us in solving the many vital problems included under the term "teacher's load." Two things can be done now, however. First, we can make some changes immediately that will have the effect of easing the teacher's burden to some degree. Second, we can begin searching for facts and principles that will serve as a basis for a thorough program of reform. These will be presented, in order. The program is to be regarded as consisting of suggestions only, and is neither complete nor authoritative.

I. Immediate changes which should be made to lighten the teacher's load.

1. Standard classes should be formed. In elementary schools, one section of forty pupils, or two sections of twenty pupils each, may be accepted as reasonable.
2. Except under very unusual circumstances, interruptions of the daily schedule should not be permitted. Assembly periods or definite classroom periods may be set aside for incidental matters.
3. Five hours of actual instruction should be considered the maximum load. If a longer period is necessary, a rest period ought to be provided.
4. Entire, or at least partial, departmentalization should be introduced.
5. Music should be cared for in special rooms.
6. Enough clerical help should be supplied to relieve teachers of all except routine reporting.
7. Untried methods should not be introduced in a school system as a whole, but only in a single school designated for the purpose as "experimental."
8. Extra-class work should be made a part of the teacher's regular assignment, and should be counted in checking up the load.
9. Some element of choice should be allowed teachers in respect to extra-class and school activities. Teachers who prefer to take class instruction may be relieved from social activities, while teachers who like social affairs may be given a lighter teaching schedule.
10. In many schools it will be found advisable to employ special teachers for the extra-class and school activities.
11. Textbook, equipment, and supplies should be provided to meet the teacher's needs in full.
12. A careful inventory of the physical conditions of the school plant should be taken, and the most serious defects and omissions should be remedied.
13. Careful planning of work, and a positive attitude on discipline.

II. Researching for facts and principles:

1. Methods of measuring the teacher's load should be devised. These should take account of three factors:
 - a. How hard the teacher's work is.

- b. How much work the teacher does.
 - c. How capable the teacher is for doing the work.
2. The complete program of activities should be determined. This should include the subjects and the extra-curricular activities. The needs, interests, and capacities of the pupils should be considered. The wishes of the parents, too, should not be altogether ignored. As the final judgment on the matter must be registered by the teachers, they should feel free to consult their own inclinations somewhat, particularly in respect to extra-curricular activities.
 3. The relative values of extra-curricular activities should be established by getting the judgment of authorities. To do this a comprehensive list of activities should be made up and submitted to competent judges. Their first duty would consist in indicating which are essential, which are important but unnecessary, which are of average importance, which are of slight importance, and last those which are valueless. Their next duty would be to rank in one, two, three order the remaining items. From this list the activities might be selected.
 4. All the activities (including the subjects) should be equated on the basis of difficulty. This might be done by taking a common standard and comparing the other activities with it. For example, one might take as standard the task of teaching a class in eighth-grade arithmetic thirty minutes with thirty pupils in the class. Probably the hour basis is better than the fraction, and, instead of using the arbitrary standard, some experimental or test method may be devised to find the relative difficulties of the tasks.¹

Preparation for teaching ought to be considered, as should the grading of papers, the preparation of apparatus, or other accompanying duties. The teacher's own ideas of the number of papers desirable should give way before the opinion of the group. It would be well to have the judgment of beginning teachers, the judgment of experienced teachers, and the judgment of competent people

¹ The following table has been prepared to illustrate the method suggested. The reader should keep in mind that the values assigned are purely

not engaged in elementary-school or high-school teaching.

5. The various tasks in the daily program of the whole school should then be expressed in pupil-hours. From the entire program teachers should be assigned pupil-hours in as nearly equal amounts as possible. Freedom of choice should be given as far as possible. A maximum number of pupil-hours should be set, and whenever the adopted program is so broad as to run over the maximum, some of the activities should be dropped.

Other methods of investigation should be utilized. Standards might be taken from the prevailing practice, and the various activities equated on that basis. The questionnaire methods which have been so frequently used may supplement any of the more objective types of investigation. They have the advantage of bringing to light many critical matters which would be wholly overlooked by a person not engaged in actual teaching. Finally, though, the opinion of classroom teachers must be balanced by as competent judgment as can be found among superintendents, principals, supervisors, and professors of education in colleges and universities. Organizations of teachers can now render real

arbitrary, and the table is not to be used except as an illustration. The standard used is an eighth-grade class of thirty pupils in arithmetic.

ACTIVITIES	Relative Difficulty	Total no. of Classes	Pupils in Class	No. of periods	Total periods	Pupil-hours	Equated pupil-hour values
Reading.....	1.0	5	30	5	25	750	750
Penmanship.....	.8	5	40	5	25	1000	800
Playground.....	.5	5	60	10	50	3000	1500
Debate.....	.6	1	10	2	2	20	12
History.....	.9	5	30	5	25	750	675
Music.....	.4	3	50	3	9	450	180
Art.....	.7	2	20	2	4	120	56
Parent-teacher Association...	.2	1	100	.5	.5	15	10

Such a program could be apportioned to five teachers, with about 750 equated pupil-hours each.

service by working for immediate reforms that will rectify the most severe defects in the teaching load. They should also sponsor and assist in far-reaching studies that will lead to permanent reforms.

Summary. Many factors are connected with the problem of the teaching load. As the term is generally used, it signifies the number of pupils taught times the number of weekly recitations. It should also comprise all the other school duties performed by the teacher. The subject is very important from the financial point of view. The costs of education are increased as the size of classes are decreased, and as special teachers are brought in. There are great inequalities existing in the amount of work done by teachers in different cities, in different schools of the same city, and even in the same school. No standard is available largely because no one has equated the classroom and extra-curricular tasks. Teachers are pronounced in their complaints against existing conditions. Immediate steps should be taken to stabilize and equalize the teaching loads. Moreover, the subject should be fairly and thoroughly investigated.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Calculate the teaching load of each teacher in some school that you know. Use the pupil-hour basis. Do you find that inequalities are compensated for by teachers with lighter loads doing outside work?
2. Assume a school in which no extra-class duties are engaged in by the teachers. The pupil-hour loads are practically equal, as are other teaching conditions as supervision, equipment, and reference material. The teachers teach the same children. The subjects taught are different. Can you conclude that the real teaching loads are equal? Discuss.
3. It costs approximately \$50 a year to educate a pupil in the typical elementary school. Suppose forty dollars of this goes to pay for teaching service. Which is preferable: to pay teachers \$1200 a year and assign standard classes of thirty pupils each, or to pay them \$1600 a year and assign standard classes of forty pupils each?
4. Show how the load of the teacher may be increased through lengthening the school day, as well as through assigning larger classes.

5. A certain large city has 120,000 children in its elementary school. There are forty pupils in the standard class. The average salary paid is \$1800 a year. It is decided to decrease the size of the classes to thirty-six pupils. How much more money must be voted to care for the additional classes?
6. What reasons are given for having larger classes in the grade school than in the high school? Are these reasons sound?
7. Is there necessarily a relationship between class size and the kind of results one secures, as measured by standard tests? Discuss.
8. Comment upon the statement that success in teaching large classes may be dependent upon the mastery of a special kind of technique. Why are small groups usually given to practice teachers?
9. What evidence can you give to prove the truth of the statement that a teacher earns no more than half her salary in classroom work?
10. What possible limitations can you see in the demand that there be a return to conducting schools for school work?
11. Try to explain why teachers resent "infringements upon the daily program." To what extent may supervisors be to blame for this attitude?
12. Explain how departmentalization may be a means of lightening the teacher's burden. How the Platoon or Gary system may lighten it.

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CHAPTER XII

THE TEACHER'S TENURE OF POSITION

The nature of the problem. The problem of tenure is the most serious one faced to-day by the teaching profession. It is also the central factor in any program looking toward the improvement of educational efficiency. Its solution is therefore quite as much in the interests of the school as in the interests of the teacher. We can never expect that the schools will contribute what they should to the welfare of society until there is undisturbed tenure, during efficiency. Under conditions that make this possible we can expect to attract and hold the highest type of ability, talent, and character in the teaching service.

The problem is not only serious, but it is a very complex one. There is ordinarily no single cause for brief and uncertain tenure. It is bound up with such administrative matters as salaries, appointment, and rating. It is closely related to living conditions, supervision, and training. Certain features of teaching are analogous to the civil service; in other respects it is radically different. Likewise, teaching has elements that are common to law and medicine, yet differs from both in essential particulars. As in the civil service, the profession demands continuous and attentive effort for the public. As in medicine and law, there is required a high degree of initial preparation, devotion to the welfare of others, and high standards of character and conduct. On the other hand, it lacks the freedom and material rewards of both.

Insecure tenure is in a large measure responsible for the limitations of the profession. There is need, therefore, for

immediate and persistent endeavor to improve conditions. As in other programs of professional improvement, four steps should be taken:

- (1) To get the facts concerning conditions as they exist.
- (2) To find the causes for these conditions.
- (3) To formulate principles and methods of bringing about desirable changes that will remedy the conditions and promote the educational welfare.
- (4) To put this program before the public for its consideration and adoption.

The purpose of this chapter is to bring together some of the facts pertaining to the problem, and, on that basis, to suggest ways and means for its solution.

The facts concerning tenure. Many studies of the duration of tenure have been made in recent years. The results are invariably the same. For example, it is found that about one fifth of all teaching positions are vacant every year. Just how many of these are due to voluntary action, and how many are enforced, it is impossible to say. Probably in most cases the teacher could be reëlected if she chose. However, it should be remembered that unsatisfactory living and teaching conditions may operate with as much force to compel a teacher to seek a new position as inability to secure reëlection.

Teacher "turnover" is greatest in the rural schools. Only about thirty per cent of the rural teachers are reappointed every year. The average length of service in rural districts is twelve months. It is still not an uncommon practice to elect a rural teacher for a term of three months, and then reëlect her for another term if she gives satisfaction. This usually means if she pleases the children; sometimes it means if she pleases one of the leading patrons. In the State of Oregon, from 1900 to 1920, from seventy to ninety per cent of the rural teachers were new to the dis-

tricts they served. Many were new to the county; many were new to the State. Twenty-five per cent were teaching their first school; the average total teaching service was three years.

Conditions in most village and small city schools are not much better. Contracts are usually for eight or nine months. The period of tenure in the elementary schools is two years in the same district. The chances of reelection after the first year are thus about two to one, and the entire average teaching experience is four years. In the smaller high schools, sixty per cent of the teachers are new to the school every year. Only two per cent have had five or more years of experience in the same school. The total teaching experience of fifty per cent is less than ten months. Only thirty per cent have had a total teaching experience of five years or more.

Tenure is far more secure in large city school systems, and the duration of teaching experience is also prolonged. Teachers remain in a single school system an average period of ten to fifteen years, and cases of a lifetime of service are not unknown. Yet, both among cities and individual teachers, there are many exceptions to this rule. Averages, too, are very deceptive. The presence of a few teachers in the school for from thirty to forty years may, when averages are computed, disguise the fact that over half the teaching force are serving their first term. It is also well to keep in mind that the rural and small-city teachers constitute over three fifths of the whole teaching body.

That much of the movement of teachers is voluntary is shown by figures gathered by the United States Bureau of Education. Out of 21,000 teachers, in 528 cities of a population ranging from 5000 to 30,000, 975 were not reelected. This is a little less than five per cent of the teaching staff. In three fourths of these cities, teachers not to be retained

were advised definitely to that effect in time to permit them to apply elsewhere. These figures, however, do not give the total number of teachers who did not return. Others left of their own volition; still others because they had received indirect suggestion that their services were no longer desired.

The consequences of brief and uncertain tenure. The teacher, the community, and the pupils share the consequences of brief and uncertain tenure. The effect upon the physical and mental health of the teacher is bad. There is more sickness among teachers, and more cases of nervous breakdown during the period of suspense attending the "annual election," than at any other time during the year. Any one who has gone through the experience can testify to the attendant sleeplessness and worry. The teacher becomes less efficient in her daily work. She also is called upon to dissipate her savings in hunting for another position. Often from one twentieth to one tenth of her annual salary goes in traveling expenses and fees to commercial appointing agencies because she has failed of reelection. In addition there is the loss on salary schedule, since teachers beginning in a position receive the minimum, or close to it. This loss to teachers as a body thus runs into millions of dollars a year.

The community loses the advantages that come from long-continued and consecutive professional effort. Educators have estimated that a teacher does not reach her maximum efficiency until she has had at least five years of experience. In passing to a new school after this initial experience she does not reach her maximum in the new position short of two or three years. On this basis we can conclude that fewer than fifty per cent of the teachers in service ever reach their greatest efficiency, and that not more than twenty-five per cent reach it for a given school. Business men say

that the efficiency of an industrial plant can be estimated from its labor turnover. A plant that has a thirty per cent turnover cannot be more than seventy per cent efficient. While this principle needs qualification, there is a large amount of truth in it. On this basis, schools lose about fifty per cent of the efficiency attainable under a policy of continuous service.

The educational losses affect both the community and the children. Much of the success of teaching is dependent upon a knowledge of individual differences among the pupils, and upon the establishment of friendly, sympathetic relationships with them. A year, even two years, is too short a period to gain acquaintance with the children, the school, and the community. Many evidences of inefficiency appear in the schools. There is a high percentage of retardation. Elimination grows with each succeeding grade. Difficulties in discipline are experienced. Progress in the school subjects is unsatisfactory, while teachers and administrators soon become aware of the impossibility of formulating and carrying out continuous policies and far-reaching programs. Brief tenure is almost always associated with inefficient schools, both as a cause and as a consequence.

The professional results are also very significant. So long as these conditions continue, we can have no genuine teaching profession. With the addition of one hundred and fifty thousand recruits every year, the problem of professional consolidation approaches the impossible. The ever-present need prevents an insistence upon the highest standards of preparation. There must be constant instruction given in professional ethics and ideals. Beginners must be trained in organized coöperation. Furthermore, many people of talent and ability refuse to enter an occupation in which employment is so brief and so uncertain. Only lofty purposes and noble ideals of service keep many people of talent and ability

in the profession. One confronted with the job of teacher-recruiting is likely to dwell on the opportunity for service and the beauty in a life of self-sacrifice, without mentioning the very important fact that the period of service will run for only four or five years. This time is all too short to develop professional consciousness.

The causes of brief and uncertain tenure. No remedies for the evils growing out of these conditions can be suggested until we discover to what causes they are due. Here is where the complexity of the problem again asserts itself. Many causes are commonly given. However, data are lacking as to the relative importance of each cause. It is clear that, in most instances, no single cause, but a number which the teacher herself has failed to analyze, must bear the responsibility. Nevertheless, the main causes may be sifted out sufficiently well to indicate what remedial action should be taken. They may be classified, as follows:

1. Economic.
 - a. Inadequate salaries.
 - b. No provision for old age or disability.
2. Political.
 - a. Arbitrary dismissal by school boards.
 - b. Operation of the spoils system, with attendant appointments as political reward, and dismissal for punishment.
3. Professional.
 - a. Lack of training and professional ideals.
 - b. Uncertainty of tenure.
 - c. Dissatisfaction with supervision and administration, and similar elements in the teaching situation.
4. Social.
 - a. Teachers judged by unscientific standards, and lack of freedom of expression.
 - b. Community and individual prejudice.
 - c. Poor living conditions.
 - d. Lack of appreciation and recognition.
 - e. Marriage.

5. Personal.

- a. Inability and unwillingness to coöperate.
- b. Desire for change.
- c. Ill-health.
- d. Desire to make money.

The experience of other countries should throw some light upon the relative significance of the causes which we have stated. Brevity of teaching tenure and insecurity in position are the exception rather than the rule in most European states. Their efficiency in teaching subject-matter is certainly equal to ours. A consideration of the conditions affecting teachers show they differ from us in the following respects:

1. Teachers are in state or national service, and are appointed for an indefinite period. The power of removal rests with the central educational authorities, and not with local boards.
2. A high degree of training is required for entrance to the profession, and great care is taken in the selection and assignment of candidates.
3. The social status of teachers is not excelled by any other class.

A few conclusions seem to be warranted from these facts. First, it can be noted that salary is not the sole consideration with teachers. Teachers in these foreign countries are often paid less than American teachers are paid. They are, however, paid enough to enable them to live respectably, and they are reasonably certain of a competence for old age and during disability or sickness. This assurance enables them to spend years in preparation, and to look forward to the future without fear. They are not diverted from their profession to carry on a business on the side, nor do they labor under the necessity of going into another line of work in order that their future may be cared for. They can look upon teaching as a life-work.

This factor of security is exactly what the American

teacher lacks. His very dependence prevents him from becoming a vital force in the community. He cannot anticipate the future with anything but uneasiness. His insecurity serves to make his position more insecure. Knowing how unstable his position is, narrow-minded and unscrupulous patrons make him a victim of their whims and prejudices. As a result he resigns his position at the end of the year and takes another in a distant community where he hopes conditions will be more congenial, or he decides to go into business. Should he be reluctant about leaving of his own accord, ways and means may be discovered to influence the local appointing authorities that the good of the school demands that his position be declared vacant. Yet the experience of other countries offers convincing evidence that the change is wholly unnecessary.

The remedies for brief and uncertain tenure. What to do about it all is a matter of grave concern. On the one hand, we might consider that there are as many remedies to be supplied as there are causes. On the other hand, we can see that the introduction of a very few changes may greatly prolong the term of service. The economic and professional are discussed in other parts of this book. We shall therefore confine the discussion to one or two items under the social and personal causes, and devote the most of our space to the political.

Many of the personal causes would not arise if the "front door" to the profession were properly guarded. There should be as much care exercised by training schools in admitting candidates as by school authorities in making appointments. Again, the desire to change may grow out of the unsatisfactory living and teaching conditions where the teacher is employed, and the only recourse seems to be in a search for more congenial surroundings. Ill-health, too, may be a consequent of overwork, unfair criticism, unventi-

lated and unsanitary classrooms, and poor living quarters. Thus many of the personal causes may be only results of circumstances more fundamental.

Of desertions from teaching due to marriage there is little to be said, and nothing to be done. School boards have tried introducing a clause in the teacher's contract whereby she agrees to remain single during the school year, but this has probably never prevented a marriage. Yet the annual loss due to marriage in a year is not inconsiderable. There arises as a result a real professional dilemma. Teaching cannot become a profession, because members desert the ranks in wholesale numbers after two or three years of service. Some hold that the presence of married women in the profession tends to prevent the development of group solidarity. They also maintain that married women are ordinarily willing to work for lower salaries, that home interests predominate over school interests, and that husbands often interfere in school administration. Largely for these reasons many school boards refuse to retain married women on the teaching staff, and refuse to employ them.

Most of the objections to married women do not seem to be well taken.¹ The adoption of proper salary schedules and their intelligent administration will invalidate the first points. The fear of home interest monopolizing the time which should be given to school duties overlooks both the changes that have taken place in the home and in the school. Of the last point, it may be safely said that the person who is trained in scientific administration has, in a school system organized along modern business lines, nothing to fear from

¹ In a recent tenure decision in New Jersey (*Nommensen vs. City Board of Education of Hoboken*) the Supreme Court held that a teacher cannot be dismissed because she violated rules laid down by the Board when such violation did not constitute in itself "inefficiency, incapacity, conduct unbecoming a teacher, or other just cause." The rule violated was one prohibiting married women from teaching in the city schools.

incidental outside influence. That such influence should be felt at present simply illustrates the need of a type of school control where it will not be effective.

Views concerning appointment and removal. In the main, the political causes of insecure tenure hinge about the degree of absolutism possessed by school boards. Given the power to "hire and fire," as they see fit, circumstances which have no connection at all with efficiency may be in control. Self-interest is likely to be the most powerful improper motive. It may be expressed in many ways — the desire to appoint relatives or particular friends, to pay political debts, to secure influence with prominent citizens, to promote business patronage, or to share in the commission paid teachers' agencies.

It is worth noticing that the principle of the teacher's right to her position has already been generally recognized. State laws and school board rules and regulations require that elections be for a specified time — usually a year — and a signed contract under whose provisions the teacher can recover should it be violated. The question at issue is, therefore, whether or not the contract period should be extended, together with the setting-up of suitable guarantees for mutual protection. There is in this an example of another fundamental American principle; namely, the tendency to limit by law, constitutional or statute, the powers of public officers. This is exactly what has been done through our National and State Constitutions. There seems no reason why the principle should be limited in its application.

Types of control. Three types of control of teacher appointment and removal may be easily distinguished. First, there is the school board in absolute, almost unlimited control. Within the limits of the meager protection afforded by the teacher's contract, they "hire and fire" at pleasure.

Rural school boards usually possess this unrestricted authority, and that it is destructive of security in tenure and educational efficiency existing conditions well show. In some instances, nominations are made by a professional authority, such as the county superintendent of schools. In very few cases does such an authority have a voice in dismissal proceedings. The continuance of autocratic power of this type, aside from injury to the schools, is exactly contrary to the spirit of democracy. There is, moreover, no justification for it on any grounds.

This arbitrary method does not characterize rural schools alone. Some of the large city systems are the worst offenders. There are plenty of city schools that still require teachers to file annual applications in order to secure consideration before the school board. The evils in such a system have been perceived by no one more clearly or expressed more forcefully than by Professor Cubberley, in his *Public School Administration*, where he says:

Some of the most disgraceful occurrences associated with the administration of public education in our cities have taken place in connection with these annual elections of teachers. Each year the teaching force is overhauled by the board of education, formal conferences are held between the board or its teachers' committee and the principals of the schools, written charges are filed, formal hearings in special cases are sometimes held, teachers are kept in a condition of worry for weeks, and the board finally, after a great show of activity, drops a small number of teachers from the schools and elects others to their places.

Not infrequently much injustice is done. Sometimes the first notice a teacher has that her work has not been satisfactory is when she reads in the morning paper that someone else has been elected to the position she has held. Teachers, too, are sometimes dropped over the protest of the principal and the superintendent. More commonly, however, the injustice is the other way, teachers being retained who have been recommended for dismissal by both principal and superintendent, and others being elected whom the

superintendent has opposed. In the annual scramble for places the interests of the children, for whom the school exists, are at times almost forgotten.

The second type differs from the first just described in only one important particular. The teacher may, if she wishes, appeal from the decision of the school authorities to an outside lay board or to a professional authority, such as the State superintendent of schools. This third party reviews the reasons for dismissal and the evidence of the truth of the charges, and renders a decision which is binding upon both the school board and the teacher. If the reviewing party finds the reasons inadequate or the evidence insufficient to warrant dismissal, the teacher is reinstated.

A third type is often recommended by educational authorities. This is known as "indefinite tenure." Appointment and dismissal remain in the hands of the school board, as before. Annual reëlections, however, after a two-year or three-year probationary period, are discontinued. The teacher remains in service from year to year without making application or being subject to election, until the board, upon the recommendation of the superintendent, decides to bring her tenure to an end.

Even in this case, care is usually taken to avoid doing the teacher an injustice. Notice is first given her of any deficiencies which are likely to render her removal necessary. The supervisory force is obliged to tell her how she may improve herself, and to offer her opportunity and help in improving. If there is not sufficient change for the better, the superintendent recommends that written notice be served upon the teacher that the board will not require her services after the close of the school year. The reasons for this decision are usually clearly stated in the notice. The practice in the best schools is to send this notice at least thirty days before the last day of school. Only teachers so notified are

subject to removal. The others remain undisturbed, unless, indeed, some of them should be guilty of gross neglect of duty, insubordination, immorality, or offenses against the laws of the State. For such reasons as these they may be dismissed at any time.

Tenure legislation. A few States and a number of cities have recently adopted tenure legislation designed to render teachers secure in their positions so long as they are deserving. Very often the demand for such legislation has grown out of particularly flagrant abuses by school boards and administrative and supervisory officials. It may be said, on the whole, that the regulations have been uniformly beneficial. In making this statement one must remember that the new measures have often had to contend against the indifference of teachers and communities, and against the often violent opposition of school officials. They have seldom had a fair chance. We lack as yet a sound basis upon which to formulate a conclusion respecting the success of tenure legislation. We may attempt a tentative estimate by two methods: (1) the examination of a few typical laws; and (2) a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages ascribed to the plans. A few typical tenure laws are:

1. *Portland, Oregon.* Law passed in 1913; amended in 1917, and again in 1921. Permanent appointment after two years' probation. Dismissal on proved charges by vote of five of the seven members of the board. The teacher may appeal to an independent lay commission if the vote for her dismissal is by a majority of the board only.
2. *New York, 1919.* Permanent appointment after a probationary period of three years. Removal for cause by a majority of the board, after a public hearing. The teacher may appeal from the local board to the State Commissioner.
3. *New Jersey, 1909.* Permanent appointment after a probationary period of three years. Dismissal or reduction of salary for inefficiency, incapacity, conduct unbecoming a teacher, or other just cause. Charges must be in writing, and

a reasonable notice given. The teacher is permitted to retain counsel, and her right of appeal from the local board to the State Commissioner and State Board of Education is recognized.

4. *California*, 1921. Permanent appointment after two years of probation. Dismissal for cause by a majority of the board. The teacher has the right to retain counsel and may summon witnesses. Applies only to school with eight or more teachers.

Advantages and disadvantages of permanent tenure plans. Four of the stock objections to tenure legislation are given below. After each objection is given the typical refutation. No claim is made that the arguments are complete and convincing. Facts to which we can appeal are few. Opinion is more or less biased. An inventory of the judgment of school authorities on the subject would probably show us they are opposed to the turn which tenure legislation has taken; classroom teachers, on the other hand, are favorably disposed to such legislation. Samples of arguments for and against permanent tenure are as follows:

1. *Argument.* Tenure laws have not accomplished their avowed purpose: namely, that of increasing the length of the teacher's service.

Answer: This criticism is not based upon the facts. In Portland, Oregon, the average term of service for the years 1910, 1911, 1912 was 6.22 years. Fifty per cent of the teachers had less than 4.25 years of experience. This was before the enactment of the permanent tenure law. For the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, despite the fact that the War took many teachers into other lines of work, the average tenure was 8.6 years.

2. *Argument.* Under permanent-tenure systems the schools become filled up with incompetent and unprogressive teachers.

Answer: First, this criticism overlooks the fact that incompetent and unprogressive teachers may be found in schools that use the "hire-and-fire" system. It seems contrary to all reason that a good teacher should become incompetent simply

because she is made secure in her position. We should expect that the effect of relieving teachers from worry about re-election would be just the opposite to this. Good teachers would become better. Moreover, the responsibility of the school officials for employing good teachers, and for making means available for the improvement of teachers in service, becomes just so much stronger.

3. *Argument.* The superintendent and the principals are put on trial, instead of the teacher.

Answer. There is much justice in the statement, and in the results. One of the things school administration has badly needed and still needs, for that matter, is to be forced to justify its procedure. In many cases of dismissal, fair-minded people are in serious doubts as to just where justice is. The aggressiveness with which school boards have sometimes pushed the case against a teacher under trial has led impartial observers to think that they were more interested in getting a verdict favorable to themselves than they were to get at the facts in the case. The person under criminal charges is adjudged innocent until he is proved guilty. Certainly the teacher who has appealed from the decision of a fallible school board should not be prosecuted, but in all fairness given every facility to establish her competence.

4. *Argument.* School officials are reluctant to dismiss a teacher because of the notoriety and the unpleasant grilling by lawyers during the course of the examination. To avoid this they cease to recommend the dismissal of any teacher whatsoever. -

Answer. In the first place, the publicity given is perhaps more in the interests of the school than star-chamber methods which are not unknown in board affairs. Second, the reluctance to dismiss certain teachers because they will cause trouble for the school authorities is often exhibited in schools where permanent tenure is unknown. In the third place, notoriety of any sort is not necessarily a feature of dismissal. As the system becomes established and professional organization perfected, the matter may become as inconspicuous as any other administrative duty. This will be the rule invariably when hearings are held before professional authorities. Much of the official objection to permanent tenure now grows out of a disinclination to face the issue squarely and publicly.

A tenure program. We have two problems to solve when it comes to working out a program for the improvement of tenure conditions. In the first place, attention is demanded to all of the various causes of insecurity. This problem is treated in other chapters, under the heading of salaries, pensions, training, and social matters. The second problem is concerned with methods of appointment and dismissal. The lines of action in connection with this problem are summarized as follows:

1. *Rural teachers:* There are two courses open. The first thing suggested is the reorganization of rural schools, and the establishment of larger districts, such as the county-unit, or a union of several counties. The consolidation of small districts into community districts is a step toward the right solution. The larger districts may then follow the example of cities and establish a stable tenure system.

Pending the formation of larger districts, the adoption of State tenure laws that will make the county superintendent the executive officer of all rural and village school boards is advisable. Under his guidance, more liberal rules and regulations on tenure could be adopted.

2. *City teachers:* If city teachers find themselves in a system which follows the method of annual election, they should at once commence a campaign for indefinite tenure. Such a claim is so well justified that few school boards will hesitate to embody a well-designed and reasonable plan in their rules and regulations.

Should such a plan be in effect, but found to work unsatisfactorily, the trouble will probably be found with the administration. In such a case, only two courses of action are open: (1) a change in administration, or (2) the passage of a permanent-tenure measure.

Principles of tenure legislation. There are two important principles to be observed in working out any satisfactory and sound tenure system. The good teacher should be relieved of all concern over her security, and the public should in turn be guaranteed competent service. Justice to the

teachers and justice to the children as well are requisite. The purpose should be to build up both an efficient teaching profession and an efficient school system. The annual election fails to attain these objectives; the real solution depends upon appointment during good and efficient service.

Many matters of detail arise in working out such a program. On such points as are common to all situations, we have presented the judgment of educational authorities from all sections of the country. The statements which follow are practically their unanimous verdict.

1. The minimum education and training acceptable for entrance to the teaching profession is four years of high school and at least two additional years of professional training.
2. On entering service, teachers should pass through a probationary period of two or three years, with an opportunity for trying out under a variety of conditions.
3. Following the probationary period, teachers should be appointed for an indefinite period.
4. As a condition to promotion in salary and continued employment, a reasonable program of study should be carried annually.
5. No teacher should be dismissed without being given an opportunity to remedy the deficiencies with which she is charged. Due notice should be given when dismissal is decided upon, and the reasons should be clearly stated in writing.
6. A hearing should be granted any teacher upon dismissal, if she desires it, and full protection should be provided.
7. The right of appeal to a higher educational authority should never be denied.

Summary. Tenure is a problem that must be solved by the teaching profession and the public working together. The problem is a complex one, because it is related to salaries, training, supervision, and many other factors. Any program of reform should be based upon the prevailing facts. These show that the duration of service as a whole is very

brief, and that the experience in a single school is considerably shorter. The rural schools are most seriously handicapped. The annual-election method, however, is also found in many city schools. The causes of insecurity of office are many. The most unsatisfactory condition of all lies in the fact that teachers cannot anticipate the future with any assurance. The experience of other nations shows us that the annual migrations of teachers are as unnecessary as they are undesirable. Two solutions are worthy of consideration: (1) indefinite tenure; and (2) permanent tenure. Both require legislation, either by the school board or by the State. There is nothing unusual in appealing to legislation for an improvement in education. In working out a tenure program, care should be taken to see that the rights of the children are fully protected, and that competent teachers are relieved of anxiety concerning their positions.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. In a communication to the school board in a large city, a leading educator recommended a probationary period of five years for newly elected teachers. What is your judgment of the merits of this recommendation? List the objections to a short period of probation. The objections to a long period.
2. Discuss from your own experience whether you were more useful to a school with each succeeding year of service, or not. Try to give the reasons why, or why not.
3. Ask some teachers you know what they regard as the most serious objection to teaching as a life-work. In particular try to discover the importance which they attach to security of tenure.
4. Is there anything radical or unusual in a proposal to regulate the powers of school boards by law?
5. What objections can you name to having notice of dismissal delivered to the teacher only at the close of school? Why do school boards often refuse to give such notice until the close or near the close of the school term? What is your conclusion on this point?
6. A new tenure law is passed by the State legislature. It prescribes normal-school graduation for elementary-school positions, and college graduation for high-school positions. A number of teachers are em-

played in the State already who are unable to meet these requirements. What should be done about these teachers?

7. Discuss the proposition, often maintained, that the adoption of permanent tenure laws tend to increase the number of incompetent teachers.
8. Explain how the adoption of larger areas for administration would help in solving the tenure problem in rural schools.
9. In a large city school system the teachers are elected annually. They are required to make applications. Secret reports as to their efficiency are handed in by the principals. School board members regularly appoint their special friends and supporters to positions. The recommendations of the superintendent are often ignored. Under such circumstances, how would you go about securing the adoption of a rational tenure plan? Would you work for indefinite or for permanent tenure? How would your plans be modified if the superintendent and principals opposed you?
10. The Oregon plan requires that teachers pursue reading circle work every year, under the direction of the State superintendent, and that additional courses of study be followed equivalent to six semester units of university or normal school credit every two years. What are the reasons for such a provision? What objection to tenure is it designed to answer?
11. Outline a publicity campaign which would have for its purpose the securing of public support for better tenure plans.
12. Draw up a brief list of sources on the conditions of tenure in certain of the leading foreign countries, such as France and England.

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CHAPTER XIII

TEACHERS' SALARIES

The importance of the salary problem. We have seen that tenure, load, preparation, and administration bear a close relation to the efficiency of the school and to the welfare of the teacher. Salaries are another factor that rank with the foregoing in importance. Higher compensation should always be associated with better teachers and a better quality of service. They are intimately related to the welfare and happiness of teachers. Our population is rapidly increasing. With the occupation of all of the open lands, the passing of the frontier, and the industrialization of the country, it has become harder to make a living. A person dependent upon his own efforts, whose capital is his own intelligence and physical health, and who works for a daily or monthly wage, runs a good many risks of having his old age unprovided for. Thus the teacher of to-day can scarcely regard the future with confidence.

The tendency has generally been to pay the teacher on the monthly basis. In computing her compensation, the popular mind ordinarily assumes employment for twelve months, yet as a rule teachers are paid for only seven or eight months. The teacher is as a consequence often credited with an annual income far in excess of what she actually draws. This has been one of the leading causes for her getting out of the profession as speedily as possible. Almost all of the features pertaining to salary have been unsatisfactory.

Conditions prevailing. In the first place, salaries are insufficient. Evenden (1919) found teachers in city elementary schools drawing salaries as low as \$200 a year. He found high-school teachers drawing salaries as low as \$300 a

year. One fourth of all the teachers reporting drew less than \$757 a year: half were paid less than \$918, and three fourths had less than \$1133 a year. Therefore, only one fourth of the teachers were paid as much as \$100 a month. No one is likely to dispute the statement that seventy-five per cent of the teachers of the country were insufficiently paid at the time when the cost of living was at its crest. These figures were collected following close on increases of \$100 a year. Statistics for the year 1914 show a far lower average level of the salaries, irrespective of their purchasing power.

Statistics collected during this same period showed that the cost of board and room for a teacher averaged about \$500 for twelve months. Most authorities estimate that the cost of board and room runs at approximately fifty per cent of the total necessary living expenses. On this basis, the minimum salary to enable a teacher to meet the bare costs of existence is \$1000. Over fifty per cent of our teachers are not paid enough, according to these data, to support themselves on the minimum level of health, comfort, and decency for the whole year of twelve months.

The upshot of the matter is that underpaid teachers must resort to one or more of the following: (1) put up with inadequate and undesirable living conditions; (2) depend upon their families for assistance; or (3) supplement the teaching wage by seeking employment after school hours and during vacations. When teachers are forced to work for room and board, teach both in day and evening schools, take in sewing, or depend upon the family in order to subsist on the comfort and efficiency level, no other evidence is necessary to prove that their salaries are too low. The same conclusion is justified if they must clerk in a store in the summer, or go to summer school only if their expenses are paid by the family. In no case should one of the three alternatives given above be forced upon them.

Compensation in other lines. A comparison of the wages paid teachers and those paid or earned in other kinds of work are illuminating. The unfavorable position which the teacher holds is almost always brought out. Among the numerous studies of this subject which have been made, we are citing a few facts from the *Report* of the Minnesota State Board of Education, for 1920, as fairly representative of the entire country:

TEACHERS' SALARIES COMPARED WITH OTHER SALARIES

Plumber.....	\$1847	Doctor.....	\$5010
Mason.....	1797	Lawyer.....	3552
Barber.....	1615	Dentist.....	3480
Carpenter.....	1507	Register (plus fees).....	2976
Teamster.....	1172	County auditor.....	2460
Bookkeeper.....	1124	Treasurer (plus fees).....	2347
Day laborer.....	1107	Sheriff (plus living).....	1980
Stenographer.....	989	<i>City superintendent</i>	1906
<i>High-school teacher</i>	982	<i>County superintendent</i>	1798
Store clerk.....	945		
<i>Grade teachers</i>	803		
<i>Rural teachers</i>	620		

The reasons for the differential being so unfavorable to teachers are not easily understood. We might argue that the people believe that the social worth of the teacher's labor is less. This they would stoutly deny. Doubtless no one will contend that the barber and the teamster contribute more to society than does the teacher. Very few would give the lawyer and the dentist a higher place in the scale of social worth. It is a common remark that teaching is the highest of all vocations. The observation of almost any one will confirm the statement that people will undergo great individual sacrifices for education. Low salaries are surely not due to lack of appreciation of education.

Others say that the economic status of teachers is inferior because the teachers themselves have set no salary stand-

ards. They are paid as much as they ask. Every year thousands of beginners go into the teaching field. They have no idea of the money-worth of their services. No one has ever given them any instruction as to what salaries they should have. Teachers' organizations have not prepared standards to guide them. They have not warned school board members that, within a given period, teachers would ask higher salaries. Thus the applicant finds that school boards have put a certain amount into the budget for the salary of the teacher. She is forced to accept what is offered, or do without a job. Because the situation is not anticipated and prepared for in advance, neither party is prepared to bargain.

The variability among salaries. Some evidence of the truth of the preceding statement is revealed by an inspection of salary differences. There is great variability among different States and cities. To cite a few examples, in 1921 the average salary paid high-school teachers in Florida was a little more than \$1200. The same year in California it was \$2175. In Evenden's study, the median salaries of elementary teachers in the Eastern States was \$690 a year; in the Western States it was \$935.

Differences quite as pronounced are to be found within the same school system. In one city the lowest salary paid to elementary-school teachers is \$500 a year; the highest is \$2000. In another city the median salaries for men in the elementary schools are \$2083; for women, \$1255. If there were some fundamental basis for fixing salaries, the variability should be less. It is highly improbable that differences in experience, training, or merit, measured by any means, exist in any well-managed school to a sufficient degree to justify salary ranges of \$500 to \$2000 for the same kind of work.

Salaries and the cost of living. In the trades the wages

paid bear a fairly close relationship to the cost of living. As the latter go up, wages also mount. They respond almost immediately to any marked changes in the prices of necessities. This is not true of teachers' salaries. Burgess shows that for the seventy-five years, from 1841 to 1915, salaries were going up at a more rapid rate than was the cost of living. This means that the financial condition of the teacher was steadily improving. After 1915 the condition was sharply reversed, and for women teachers at least the salary curve passed below the cost-of-living curve. At no other time since the Civil War was the purchasing power of the teacher's salary less than it was in 1920.

For two years thereafter substantial increases were made in salaries. The cost of living has dropped slightly. At present there is a tendency for each to maintain a reasonably constant relation to the other. However, any economic disturbance is almost certain to overthrow the balance, with the same effect as if the absolute salaries of teachers had been lowered. The point is that fluctuating and rising prices make for great variability in teachers' salaries, even when gradual increases in the absolute amounts are made. The dollar will not buy so much, and this is equivalent to a reduction in salary. No method of paying teachers can be just and satisfactory that fails to provide sufficient flexibility to care for rising prices.

Perhaps in no other way is the effect of poor salaries on the efficiency of the school so well shown. As has been stated, when prices go up, wages in trades and in many other occupations keep pace with them. At the same time, teachers find themselves unable to live upon their salaries. They see opportunities in other lines, and as a consequence they desert the profession in wholesale numbers. This was shown clearly soon after the entrance of the United States into the World War, when a shortage of one hundred thousand

teachers occurred. Schools were disorganized. Many children were put on half-time; many were not taught at all; many were in charge of untrained, inexperienced, and incompetent teachers who had been hastily recruited from the farm, the restaurant, and the factory.

The lack of a basis for computing salaries. We have seen that the absence of a scientific basis for determining what salaries should be paid is indicated by the great variability which exists. It is also clear that the cost of living has not played an important part in fixing schedules. Teachers should be especially interested in finding out whether any fundamental principles and factors determine their rate of compensation. One might suspect that teaching experience, training, load, teaching results, and ability of the school system to pay would all be important factors. The findings on these points by various studies are summarized as follows:

1. *Teaching experience.* Graves finds, in his study of 2562 high-school teachers, that only the second year of experience counts in obtaining an increase in salary. The average annual increase was found to be only \$25.91 for a ten-year period — a little over two dollars a month. In the more extensive study of Evenden there was found to be a rather high correlation between experience and salary in the large cities, with a rather low correlation in the small cities. The correlation was also higher in the Eastern cities than in the Western. We may say, therefore, that there is a tendency to base salaries on teaching experience, the tendency increasing in the larger cities and especially in the larger Eastern cities.
2. *Amount of training.* A negative correlation is uniformly found between the amount of training received above the eighth grade and the salary paid teachers in the elementary school. This is to say that elementary-school teachers do not receive salaries in proportion to the years given to professional preparation. With high-school teachers there is a very slight tendency for the better trained to be higher paid. It may be said, so far as data are available for the whole teaching group,

that training in service has not had the effect of adding to the teacher's salary.

3. *Teaching load.* Graves reports no correlation between salaries and time given to instruction. This is in substantial agreement with Almack's study of the correlation between the load and the salary of elementary-school teachers. In both a slight tendency to pay less to the teachers who work longer hours and teach larger classes may be detected. This does not mean that teachers are paid lower salaries because they do more work — low salaries and heavy teaching loads are due to the same cause; either poor financing or poor districts.
4. *Teaching results.* On this point we unfortunately have little information. Where salary schedules are connected up with rating systems, the assumption of the authorities is that salary promotions are determined by merit. If one doubts the reliability of the rating schemes, he must also doubt whether increases are accurately apportioned. It must be said that there is grave doubt whether the best teachers are invariably the highest paid. This conclusion is indicated by the lack of positive correlation between salary and experience, training, and amount of work done.
5. *Ability of the school system.* There is also no general tendency for the wealthier schools districts to pay higher salaries. There is often a wide divergence between what the district or State does, and what it is able to do. A school system which stands relatively low in resources may be ably financed and pay its teachers well. Another with a high taxable valuation per child may be both overworking and underpaying its teachers because of bad financial management. As all taxes are paid out of income, we could well expect that districts where wages are high would also pay teachers high salaries. This has not always been found to be the case.¹

Salary requirements. The plain facts are that we have never worked out, or at least never put into general practice, any scientific principles for determining what salaries ought to be. This is a problem that we cannot solve here. We can, however, consider some of the basic factors involved in salary planning that may be of some assistance in arriving at

¹ See Evenden, *op. cit.*, p. 109, 1919.

the solution. Three uses served by salaries may be discovered; namely, subsistence, a motive for improvement, and a reward for merit. They are briefly analyzed, as follows:

1. *Subsistence.* This means that every teacher is entitled to a salary that will permit her to maintain a decent standard of living. She should have all the necessities of life in sufficient amount and of good quality. Her annual salary must be enough to procure the necessities for twelve months. No teacher should accept less, and it should be a point of ethics as well as common-sense to be obeyed by all.

In calculating a subsistence wage the method may be followed that was referred to in a preceding paragraph. Find the cost of good board and a comfortable room for a year. Multiply this by two. The resulting amount is the minimum salary which a teacher can accept. It should be noted that this minimum includes no luxuries whatsoever. Under the Minnesota budget schedule the teacher should count room, board, clothing, doctor and dentist, church and charity, recreation, laundry, insurance, travel, improvement, and miscellaneous. The last should include enough to provide a few enjoyments of life. Decent subsistence means more than bare existence.

2. *Improvement.* The necessity of keeping up with progress in the profession has been sufficiently stressed. It is a matter of as much importance to the schools as to the teachers. Improvement should be motivated by salary increases, and compensated for in the same way. That is, a teacher who attends summer school every other year should have enough additional salary to pay her expenses, and to compensate her for added efficiency.
3. *Merit.* Under this term is included a wide enough margin to give a salary schedule flexibility. One would not expect to administer it with absolute precision. Whenever unmistakable ability was revealed, whenever an exceptional teacher might be brought into the system or retained through the operation of the budget set apart to reward merit, then it would be drawn upon. It is the factor which is most conspicuous in marking off teachers' salaries from the dead equality of the subsistence level.

Salary schedules. The combination of the factors given above serve as a basis for the making of a salary schedule. The schedule is necessary for a number of reasons. First of all, it is a useful administrative device. It is a basis for scientific budget-making. The superintendent can forecast in advance what the financial demands for several years will be, and can make plans to raise money to meet them. Second, it is one of the first steps toward the determination of the costs of instruction in each subject and each grade. Third, there is no other means by which approximate justice to all members of the teaching force can be guaranteed.

The first thing to do in making a schedule is to find out what the minimum ought to be. This has been roughly given as double the cost of room and board for twelve months, plus certain additions for improvement and merit. Inasmuch as the cost of living fluctuates, from year to year, such a schedule should be subject to frequent revisions, especially in respect to the subsistence feature. Two ways have been suggested for doing this: (1) to make the minimum conform to the wages paid to artisans; and (2) to compute the minimum always in terms of the purchasing power of the dollar. The first is favored because, over a long period of time, it is observed that the trend of wages parallels closely the cost of living. The second method is better because it is certain and is independent of other factors. For example, when the purchasing power of the dollar is exactly one hundred cents, the teacher drawing the minimum salary of \$1000 would receive exactly that. When the dollar dropped in purchasing power to eighty cents, the teacher with a minimum salary of \$1000 would automatically have her salary increased to \$1250.

When a minimum has been established, there is an advantage in enacting it into State law. In this way the be-

ginner, and the teacher who is ignorant of the value of her services, alike get some protection. They are insured enough to live on comfortably, and can look forward to improving themselves. School boards also know definitely that the minimum must be raised. Two methods of putting such a provision into law have been tried. The first is to set a lump sum below which salaries are not to go. This may be \$75 a month or \$600 a year, assuming the school year to be eight months. The annual rate is better than the monthly rate. Another way is to prescribe that a certain proportion of the school money coming from State and county sources shall go to pay salaries. This is the method employed in California. This law insures that every school will have at least \$1400 a year for each teacher from other than local sources. It is a far better method than the first.

Merit factors. The improvement factor is one to be determined largely by agreement. We have no facts which tell us that teachers ought to attend summer school every other year in order to keep efficient. Doubtless there should be some option permitted for different individuals. In any case, an amount sufficient to cover the expenses of attendance should be set aside for the teacher's benefit. If she did not take advantage of improvement opportunities, it would be held in the improvement fund until the next year, or appropriated to some other purpose.

Necessarily a special allowance should be made for preparation. This is also a difficult thing to estimate, because it includes not only the length of the training period, but the quality of the training as well. For the time being, the latter might be set aside and the first concentrated upon. The smallest compensation for training which should be considered is enough to pay a reasonable rate on the investment of time and money. There also seems to be no mistake in fixing the time value at the earning capacity of unskilled labor.

The third factor, experience, needs also to be considered. There is need of paying for experience, whether it unmistakably means greater efficiency or not. That is, we are also concerned with retaining merit in the schools. We want stability. We want to be able to guarantee to prospective teachers a life-work. This is to be used as an inducement to get teachers to stay in the profession. They could look forward each year, for quite a period of time at least, to an automatic increase in salary because they had been content to stay in teaching, and it would be granted every teacher retained in the system. The amount, for the present, will have to be determined by mutual agreement. It should at least equal the allowance granted for a year of training.

Such other factors as could be isolated and measured would also be considered. For the time being it would be necessary to rely upon the best judgment available as to what these factors are, and their relative importance. The teaching load is one measurable factor that ought to be considered in fixing salaries. This should be based, not upon the subsistence minimum, but upon the proportion allotted to the reward of merit. Likewise, if results can be evaluated accurately, teachers who are more successful in teaching history, reading, and the like should be recognized in a substantial way.

Controversial elements. Whether certain elements should be considered or not in making a salary schedule is a matter of dispute. For example, there are those who believe that men should be paid more than women, regardless of the fact that women may equal men in training, experience, amount of work done, and improvement. The arguments are usually of the following kinds:

1. Men are more efficient than women.
2. They have more dependents.
3. In the upper grades and in the high school, students need to

come into contact with men. They need their point of view and their moral influence. Students are not so well fitted for life experiences if they are taught exclusively by women.

It must be confessed that none of the propositions cited will stand up against the attacks of logic and the facts. As to the first, few significant sex differences have been discovered. Those that have been pointed out are not discreditable to either sex as such. Efficiency is an individual matter. There are superior women teachers; there are superior men teachers. There are also both inferior men and inferior women teachers. The same thing may be said of the second proposition. Assuming for the time being that some account should be taken of the number of dependents a teacher has in determining her subsistence wage, we find great individual differences. Some men have no dependents; some women have several dependents. If efficiency and number of dependents are taken into account in fixing minimum salaries, it must be done impartially and wholly irrespective of sex.

The third point seems equally absurd. The traits of character which most people have had in mind, when speaking of "the effeminization of the schools," seem to be exactly those which modern civilization desires more than anything else to foster. Refinement, courtesy, honesty, regard for the rights of others, good habits, and sound moral character are desirable qualities in both men and women. There are not two kinds nor two standards in respect to these. All of our experience and all of our theory recognize that the moral influence which one person has upon another is independent of sex. The entrance of women into professions and industries, and the wider freedom which characterizes democracy, wherever it may be, have exploded the mediæval theories of the superiority of the male. However, since the supply of men teachers is less, schools wanting them naturally will

have to pay more for them. This is not due to sex differences, but to the operation of the economic law of supply and demand.

Likewise, there is no justification for discriminating among teachers because of the place in which they teach or the grades or departments in which they teach. The importance of the teacher's work is not lessened because she happens to be teaching thirty pupils in a city of five thousand people, instead of in a city of a million. Evenden's schedule, in which the minimal salary in large cities is fifteen hundred dollars and of small cities is twelve hundred dollars, is justified only if the costs of living are higher in the larger cities, and sufficiently so to account for the three hundred dollars difference. It is not justified by the theory that teachers of lower qualifications will do for the smaller cities, nor that life is necessarily proportionately more satisfying in the smaller cities.

The principles illustrated. There are many advantages of a salary schedule based upon common principles. By it teachers will be protected against exploitation. They will be paid enough to procure for them a good living. They will be guaranteed a competency in old age. They will be offered an inducement to stay permanently in the profession. Merit will be compensated, though inadequately. Injustice and discrimination will be prevented. Teachers may change from one school to another without loss.

It is not to be expected that the first attempts at reorganization will result in perfection. A long period of trial and error, and investigation and experiment is indicated. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that progress will be made, and that in time the problem will be solved. As a step in the direction of improvement, the following method of working out a salary schedule is given. The figures used are illustrative only. With the exception of the amount set

aside for subsistence, teachers will have to be content to rely for the present largely upon their own best judgment and the judgment of the school authorities. As soon as facts and figures can be substituted for judgment they should take their proper place.

1. *The subsistence principle.* Based upon cost of living for teacher, and, if considered advisable, of dependents.

Board and room for twelve months at \$50	\$600	
Other necessities at same rate	600	
Total subsistence minimum		\$1200
2. *The training principle.* Based upon cost of training in time and money. Two years above high school used here as the minimum. Same rate allowed for each year up to six. Interest computed at the rate of six per cent. Training in this way is regarded as an investment.

Expenses — tuition, board, etc., two years at \$1200	\$2400	
Time at rate paid untrained teachers, \$900	1800	
Total investment in training		4200
Interest on investment at six per cent, to be paid in additional salary		252
3. *The improvement principle.* Based upon cost of attendance for six weeks at summer school, every other year. Note that subsistence is provided for twelve months, and is not counted again.

Tuition, books, incidentals	\$60	
Travel	20	
Total for two years		80
Amount for which teacher should be reimbursed annually		40
4. *The experience principle.* This should be determined by the judgment of the teachers and school authorities. The estimate made here is purely arbitrary. The only guiding principle used is that the experience salary, as an inducement to continue in teaching, should not be less

each year than the amount credited to the teacher for improvement. We may, tentatively at least, place this at.....

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5. *The teaching-load principle.* The assumption is that the rate of payment just indicated applies to the teacher who carries the standard load. Teachers who do more should be compensated for it. As it signifies a form of merit, the addition should be based upon allowances above the subsistence level. Letting 100 equal the standard load, a teacher carrying a load of 150 would be entitled to an additional salary to the amount of one half of the sum of \$252, \$40, and \$50, given above, which equals.....

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6. *The efficiency principle.* Under this term is included many factors at present more or less unmeasurable. After a standard is established, the principle would be administered in the same way as the principle that applies to the teaching load. Necessarily only cogent items would be used for a basis. The main value in the principle at present is that it gives some flexibility to the schedule. Exceptional teachers can be employed, and those who have made a distinctive contribution rewarded. The amount allowed for marked efficiency necessarily varies.

Under such a plan no maximum salary need be set, as none would be necessary. Communities that found it necessary to fix a maximum might be permitted to do so, provided that the annual increases continued until the teacher reached forty-five or fifty years of age. The teacher could then look forward to a long annual increase in salary due to experience. She would be provided means for improvement. The last is to be regarded as a bonus, and not as an increase in salary. If she did more than the standard amount of work, some financial recognition would be given for it. In addition, she would have before her a motive for keeping up a high quality of work, and for making distinctive contributions.

Salary campaigns. We have seen that salaries are inadequate. They are based upon no fundamental principles. They are exceedingly variable, and often discriminatory. Most of our campaigns have been directed toward raising the absolute rates. Important as this is, the other features should not be neglected. Some means should be found whereby salaries can be raised automatically as the costs of living go up. There can be no objection to the lowering of the subsistence salaries, should it ever happen that the dollar will purchase more than one hundred cents' worth of goods. In the main the problem is one of obtaining justice as well as advantages, and the campaign should be entered upon with zeal and enthusiasm by every member of the profession.

The object of study should be action. In the paragraphs which follow, therefore, may be found a summary of the steps which should be taken in carrying out a salary campaign. In many cases certain of these steps may be omitted. In other cases additions will be necessary. In the main the following will be found essential:

1. Form an organization with the improvement of salary conditions as the objective. If you have an old organization that is working well, use it.
2. Find out all you can about salaries and lay out the campaign. Get committees at work, and see that they report promptly.
3. Get the facts on the cost of living in your own community. Be sure that they are complete and reliable. If necessary, call in an expert to help you.
4. Study the wages and salaries paid in the community. Let your investigation extend back several years, or as far as data are available. The Federal Department of Labor may be able to help you.
5. Obtain regular statements from the United States Department of Commerce on the prices of staple commodities and the purchasing power of the dollar.
6. Study the finances of your school system and of the state.

Find out how it compares with other sections in ability to support schools, and in its performance.

7. Study the amounts expended in your city and State for luxuries. Note also whether there are sources of taxation that are untouched, or practically so.
8. Get an agreement among the members of your organization and among the teachers of the city upon the weight that should be attached to training, experience, and improvement. If you cannot agree on the basis of the facts you gather, toss a coin on disputed points.
9. Put your program for equalizing salaries before the superintendent and the school board. With their approval draw up a new schedule.
10. Keep the values of education before the public. Use the press, exhibits, invitations to visit the school, lectures, four-minute speeches, education week, and other publicity devices.
11. Put the salary facts you have gathered before the public. Be discreet. Be persistent. Do not try to do everything at once. One thing at a time is a good motto. The following order is a good one:
 - a. Get all salaries raised to the subsistence level. Use the argument of plain justice.
 - b. Get the schedule differentiated on the basis of training. To do this, or to accomplish any other improvement, no salaries should be reduced.
 - c. Work to extend the number of payments made for experience. If, under the existing schedule, only six annual increases are made, try to bring them up to twelve, and then on toward the total term of service. Stress the need of inducing teachers to stay in the schools, and the added efficiency which comes with experience and contentment.
 - d. Get an appropriation in the form of a bonus to compensate teachers who spend the vacation in self-improvement. If a good showing can be made as to the number of teachers from the particular school system attending summer school the preceding year, it will be a strong argument.
12. Concentrate your effort on other important related matters, such as:

- a. Obtaining more revenue from the county, State, and Nation.
- b. Equating the teaching load.
- c. Finding reliable means of measuring teaching efficiency.

Summary. The salary question touches both the welfare and the efficiency of teachers. As conditions now are, salaries are far too low. They vary greatly among different teachers in the same school who are doing the same work. Schedules are inelastic. They are based upon no fundamental principle. Salary schedules ought to be put upon a scientific basis. Factors to be considered are training, experience, the cost of living, improvement in service, teaching load, and efficiency. In order to bring about changes that will make salaries more adequate and more just, campaigns of investigation and education must be carried on. This should be the work of efficient teacher organizations.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. How do you account for the fact that teachers' salaries have almost always been too low?
2. Is it undignified or unprofessional for teachers to use efforts to obtain just compensation? Discuss.
3. Try to explain why salaries are lower in Florida than in California.
4. The statement was made that wages respond almost immediately to an upward trend in the cost of living. Why is not the same true of teachers' salaries?
5. During the War period many schools made flat increases in the salaries of their teachers. After the War a reaction against taxes set in, and salaries were in some cases reduced. Would it have been better for the schools to have granted bonuses to tide the teachers over the War period, or to have amended the salary schedules? Discuss.
6. Using the method of determining salaries which was illustrated and the data which follows, compute the salaries which would be paid to the teachers of a certain school this year:
 - a. Cost of board and room, \$60 a month.
 - b. Cost of attendance at summer school, \$100 a term of six weeks.
 - c. Teachers, five in number:
 1. One first- and second-grade teacher, experience two years, training two years, one summer school, teaching load 120 per cent of standard.

2. One third- and fourth-grade teacher, experience four years, training one year, one summer school, teaching load standard.
3. One eighth-grade teacher, experience seven years, training three years, three summer schools, teaching load 110 per cent of standard.
4. One high-school teacher, experience three years, training four years, no summer school, teaching load 90 per cent of standard.
5. One principal, experience sixteen years, training four years, four summer schools, teaching load 140 per cent of standard, dependents three.
7. Name as many other factors as you can which you believe should be considered in fixing salaries.
8. Point out as many objections as you can to the usual methods of fixing salaries.
9. During the period of teacher shortage many new teachers were brought into the schools. On the average they ranked below the teachers in service in both preparation and training, yet in order to keep the schools running and to fill the vacancies, the new teachers were often paid more than those already in service. The old teachers felt this was unfair. Point out ways in which the emergency could have been met without creating this feeling of injustice.
10. Point out the possible disadvantages in fixing a minimum salary by law.
11. What justification can you find for paying high-school teachers more than is paid grade teachers? How much more should they be paid? How should the salaries of administrators be computed?

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CHAPTER XIV

TEACHERS' PENSIONS

The meaning of pensions. If a city or a State were to offer its teachers an increase of twenty dollars a month each in salary, without exacting heavier duties or new obligations, one would consider them very foolish to refuse it. The probabilities are that the offer would be highly appreciated and accepted as evidence that the school authorities had the welfare of the teachers in mind. It would not be looked upon as a gift, but as money rightfully earned. Young teachers would have no more hesitation about sharing in the public generosity than would older teachers.

The principle would not be changed if the payment of the increase were deferred until the teacher had completed twenty-five to thirty-five years of service. The motive, though, would take on a slightly different appearance. The action of the public would be interpreted as concern for the welfare and livelihood of the teacher in old age and after her period of efficiency is past. The offer might also be looked upon as an inducement to teachers to continue in the profession. The accumulated total, with a reasonable rate of interest compounded annually, would be no small amount. Twenty dollars a month for thirty-five years would mean an endowment of approximately ten thousand dollars. Thus, at the age of sixty or thereabouts the teacher would have had enough money saved for her to guarantee her against absolute poverty.

The principle is also the same if the teacher decides to put some of her regular monthly salary into the same fund. The public may say to her that it will match her savings

dollar for dollar, see that the deposits are safeguarded, collect her interest, and later return to her the total in such a form as she may choose. Moreover, in order that teachers who have already been in service nearly the entire thirty-five years may get equal benefits, the provision may be adopted that the State or city will set aside the total payments for all past service, including the interest that would have accumulated. To illustrate, here is a teacher who has had thirty years of experience. If the amount set aside by the school authorities is \$20 a month, or \$180 a year, she would have put to her credit \$5400, plus interest. During the next five years which must elapse before her retirement \$900 more of principal would be added. Thus would the allowance of \$20 a month, with interest, grow into a fund of over \$10,000 in thirty-five years.

The illustrations which have been given bring out the meaning of a pension. It is simply wages whose payment has been deferred. It is earned by the employee. It is a means of increasing educational efficiency. It is not a system of organized charity. It differs from the usual form of monthly salary in that it is paid in a different manner, and not so much for work done as for long and faithful service. Part of the earnings of the teacher are paid immediately. For another and smaller part, payment is postponed, and is usually given out in the form of annual payments, after the teacher has retired from active service. This postponed salary and its earnings constitutes what is meant by pension.

Special values in pensions. The protective value of pensions is obvious. Teachers come from families that have as a rule not accumulated much wealth. They may have become involved in debt in securing their training. The salaries are meager. Their training and temperament generally unfit them for money-making. They are not brought

into touch with profitable business ventures, even if they had some small capital available. They know that wealth is not produced by speculation. The belief, only too common, that they will remain but a short time in teaching prevents them from saving systematically. When after fifteen or twenty years of service they awake to the realization that they have accumulated nothing, the prospects of old age are not alluring. The greatest value in pensions is in the protection provided teachers in old age against poverty and dependence.

Pensions are a means of promoting educational efficiency. With all fears of an indigent old age removed, teaching will become a more attractive occupation. Instead of being looked upon as a last resort, the profession will be a voluntary choice. The teaching force will be more stable. There will not be the shifting around from one position to another, or the tendency to regard teaching as only a temporary vocation. One is always more inclined to seek as a life-work an occupation in which he may feel secure than one in which he cannot predict a year ahead what his fate will be.

Moreover, a pension system will enable school administrators to retire the incompetent. When the alternatives offered to a superintendent are keeping an aged and infirm teacher in the school, or turning her over to the almshouse, a person who has any humanity in his make-up is likely to leave the teacher undisturbed. This is commendable, indeed, but the children suffer the consequences. There are but few city school systems in the country that do not furnish the pitiful example of inefficient teachers left in the classrooms because they have no means of living but from their salaries. In most instances it would be far better to pay these teachers a sum equivalent to their full salaries than to permit them to teach. Both justice and humanity as well demand that they be cared for. The first considera-

tion, justice, should make it clear that such payment is not charity.

Objections to pensions. Most of the objections to pensions are specifically directed against points in systems which have been adopted. These are not inherent, and may be easily remedied. Teachers should be very sure that they distinguish between the arguments against some existing pension system and the idea of pensions in general. Objections of the first kind may be removed by making changes here and there in the system. The second type are fundamental, and, if they could be established, would be worthy of serious attention. The first type will be dealt with when presenting the practical problems connected with the framing and management of pension systems. The second type will be discussed briefly, herewith:

1. *First objection:* Pensions are nothing more than charity which a self-respecting teacher could not bring herself to accept.

This objection is unsound. Pensions are earned. They are not earned, however, as the monthly salary is earned, but are a special kind of salary payable at the end of service.

2. *Second objection:* Pensions are an acknowledgment that present salaries are too low, or else an insinuation that teachers are incompetent or improvident. If salaries are too low, the just thing to do is to raise them to what they ought to be. If teachers are incompetent to invest their surplus wisely, or are wasteful and extravagant, it is but just that they should suffer the penalty of their incompetence or improvidence.

There are several answers to this objection. The pension allowance may usually be looked upon as an increase in salary which would not be forthcoming if it were not put in this form. Inasmuch as the participation of the whole teaching force is necessary in order to have a pension system at all, the charge of either lack of financial ability or extravagance is unfounded. Even if the pension allowance were added to the monthly salary, the margin between the total and the amount

required to meet absolute needs is so slight as to safeguard all teachers against speculation or waste.

As was stated in an earlier chapter, the nature of professional service itself precludes that payment equivalent to its value will be rendered. This condition is likely to be more pronounced when the public is the employer. The choice is rather between less or more, the pension signifying the latter.

The deferred payment has the advantage that it forces the beginning of saving early in life. That there is some need of this is shown by insurance statistics, which reveal the exceedingly small number of people to leave estates at death. The pension is an example of foresight. The projection of one's thinking into the remote future, the ability to foresee consequences and provide for them, is the best measure of intelligence.

Examples of pension systems. The history of pension systems extends over only a little more than half a century. The first organizations were of the mutual-aid type. The need was recognized in the circumstance of the death of a teacher where it was necessary to collect contributions to pay funeral expenses. From this the movement passed to making collections in advance to be used for any member of the teaching force. In time, the activities of the associations assumed a wider range. Teachers who were disabled were given assistance. At first, the funds were voluntarily given by the teachers themselves. Teachers hoped to obtain the nucleus of a pension fund from private philanthropy. They were disappointed. They turned the proceeds of dances, entertainments, and bazaars into the pension fund. The amount obtained was both inadequate and uncertain. The next step consisted in a reliance upon public coöperation.

About one third of a million teachers are now protected by pension systems. Two thirds of the States have legislation, of one kind or another, on the subject. Half the States have made pension benefits available to all the teachers. The

greatest progress has been made in the Northeastern and North Central sections. Approximately one fifth of the pensioned teachers owe the benefits to the coöperation of city school boards. The tendency, however, is for State systems to absorb the minor organizations, whether public as in the case of a city, or private as in the case of a professional association. The larger groups give greater stability and a better opportunity for scientific management. Economy and efficiency go along with the State plans.

The Connecticut plan. The Connecticut system was put into operation in 1919. It provides a Teachers' Retirement Association, with compulsory membership for all teachers who entered the service after the date of the adoption of the law. Membership is optional with all teachers already in service. The management of the Association is shared between the State and the teachers. The board of control has five members: the State Insurance Commissioner, the State Bank Commissioner, the Secretary of the State Board of Education, and two teachers actually in service at the time of their election.

The funds of the Association are derived from two sources. The expenses of administering the law are paid by the State. The State also makes appropriations, on estimates prepared by the Board of Control. The second source are the members of the Association. Every teacher who expects to profit by the pension system must pay into the pension fund five per cent of her annual salary. Where the five per cent is insufficient to yield at least twenty-five dollars, that amount is fixed as the minimum. Where five per cent yields more than one hundred dollars, that amount is fixed as the maximum. Thus no teacher pays less than twenty-five dollars a year, and no teacher pays more than one hundred dollars a year.

The age of retirement is placed at sixty years, or on com-

pleting thirty-five years of service. Service in other States, up to fifteen years, is credited. If a member of the Association is incapable of rendering efficient service because of physical disability, she may be retired at fifty-five years. Retirement is compulsory at the age of seventy. The teacher is entitled to a minimum pension equal to what her own contributions will pay for, with interest compounded at three per cent. Where her assessments do not total enough to entitle her to a pension of three hundred dollars a year, the State is obligated to supply the balance.

A member of the Association may withdraw only on the event of her leaving the State or quitting the teaching profession. She is then entitled to all her contributions with regular interest. In the event of her death, the amount due her is paid to her heirs. The pensions are tax free, and are not subject to attachment, nor can they be assigned to any other person.

The New Jersey plan. The New Jersey plan also dates from 1919. It represents a complete reorganization of an earlier system that was found to be financially unsound and unfair. As in the case of Connecticut, membership is compulsory among the new teachers. The management is in the hands of a board of seven members. The State and the teachers are both represented.

The plan is financed by the teachers and the State jointly. Each member is required to put enough into the fund so that, by the time she reaches the age of retirement, she will have contributed half of the total cost of her annuity. The rates are a fixed percentage of the salaries, but vary with the age and sex of the teachers. The rate of the younger members is of course less. The rate for men is a little lower than the rate for women, because the latter live longer after retirement. The cost of administration is borne by the State. The State also pays half the cost of establishing teachers

who come in from other States on the same basis as the New Jersey teachers, and sets aside a fund to cover the cost of pensions for teachers in service. This is to say that old teachers are given all the advantages of teachers just entering the system. The minimum annuity provided is \$400, with a disability allowance of \$300. The allowance is computed on the basis of the average salary for the last five years of teaching, and is one seventieth of the average salary times thirty-five. Thus a teacher whose average annual salary was \$1200 the last five years before retirement would be entitled to one seventieth of \$1200 times thirty-five, or \$600.

The age of retirement is sixty-two years, or at the completion of thirty-five years of service. Service in other States up to ten years is credited, but a teacher coming in from another State must bear half the cost of the endowment. Inasmuch as teachers coming into New Jersey are usually from States that have pension systems, the only thing they need to do is to transfer their balance from their home State to the treasury of the new State. Retirement is compulsory at the age of seventy. As has been hinted, a member of the Association may be retired earlier for incapacity or disability.

In case of resignation or dismissal, the full amount paid in by the teacher is returned, with interest at three per cent. Death benefits are allowed on the same basis. The disability protection begins after ten years. In case the teacher is in service longer than thirty-five years, she is given a proportional increase in her allowance. At retirement, the teacher is allowed a number of options in the way in which the benefits shall be paid.

The New York City plan. The New York City plan was adopted in 1917. It includes as beneficiaries all employees of the Board of Education who are holding regular positions.

on annual salaries. This means that the clerical and janitorial forces are cared for along with the teachers, principals, and supervisors. The fund is managed by a board of seven members. Two are from the City Board of Education, three from the Association, one a private citizen appointed by the Mayor, and the seventh the Comptroller of the city.

A sufficient amount is collected from each member of the Association to pay approximately half the cost of a pension equal to half pay. In computing the average salary, the last ten years of the teacher's service is considered, instead of the last five as in New Jersey. Teachers contribute three per cent of their annual salaries to the fund, unless they can meet the minimum requirements with less. They are also permitted to put more than three per cent of their earnable salaries into the fund, if they wish to do so. The remainder of the pension is made up from public funds. With each new entrant an amount is put into the contingent reserve fund which, with its additions and accumulations from interest, will be enough to pay the benefits when they become due.

Retirement is at the age of sixty-five, or when thirty-five years of teaching has been completed. Fifteen years of teaching in other than New York City schools may be credited. Retirement is compulsory when the age of seventy is attained. A teacher who has ten years or more of service in the city schools may also be given an allowance, if retired for mental or physical disability. A teacher who resigns or is dismissed may collect all her deposits, with interest. The former may, if she desires, continue to make payments to the fund, but the obligation of the city to contribute to her pension ceases when she withdraws from its employment.

Problems of pension systems. Every provision of a pension system constitutes a special problem. In the solution of many of them the approach has been through the hard

road of experience. Most of the earlier systems have been found unsatisfactory because of the failure to anticipate many conditions which must of necessity arise as the organization became older and it must make good on its promises. In the establishment of a new system or in the reorganization of an old one, most of the discussion will concern the membership, the kind of benefits, the methods of financing the Association, the amount of benefits, and the management. These will be discussed, in order, in the pages which follow.

The membership. Among the hundreds of employees of a school system many different vocations are represented. There are classroom teachers, principals, assistant principals, special supervisors, superintendents, and assistant superintendents. There are also janitors and engineers, attendance officers and watchmen, and skilled and unskilled workmen. There are hundreds of people, too, who give their whole time to office work: stenographers, typists, clerks, and bookkeepers. When a pension system is being established, the question is whether all these people shall become beneficiaries, or whether the system shall be for teachers alone.

Some teachers oppose the admittance of administrators and supervisors. The usual ground of their objections is that these officers are paid enough to enable them to take care of their own future. The amount which the public can and will contribute is limited. It would be better, therefore, to leave out this group, and increase the benefits to the teachers who are lower on the salary scale. The same class may also oppose pensions for employees, such as clerks and janitors. The objection here cannot be based upon the fact that these people receive higher salaries. The basis, then, is that the preparation required of the teacher, the peculiar strain of teaching, the social worth of her services, and

the great importance of maintaining her efficiency warrant special consideration to which other employees are not entitled.

The conclusion has been that the same principle which entitles class teachers to pensions also entitles other public employees to pensions. Whether all should be included or not turns mainly upon the question of expediency. By including all, the measure is strengthened before the people. The system itself is stronger. But if by including all, it means that the burden of providing adequate pensions is too heavy for the public to bear, then the line will have to be drawn somewhere. Under such circumstances the classroom teachers, for the reasons cited in the preceding paragraph, are entitled to first consideration. There is now a strong tendency in the direction of including all.

The kinds of benefits. A modern insurance system offers benefits of many kinds. There are benefits for sickness and accidental injury. There are benefits for part or total disability. There are death and funeral benefits. Annuities, endowments, and pensions are provided and paid in a number of ways. Among so many desirable features, it is very difficult to decide which should be made part of the plan. As a teachers' protective association partakes of the nature of a modern insurance company, it should also have this question in view.

This again is largely a matter of expediency and necessity. If the funds permit, the whole program may well be adopted. If not, the features must be ranked in desirability and the best taken first. It is not very hard to get agreement on the most necessary element. A pension system should be a pension system in fact. This means that at the time of retirement payments should begin to the beneficiaries in such amounts as they are entitled to. If the payments can be made at frequent intervals, so much the better. They

should continue throughout the lifetime of the beneficiary, and, if a balance is still remaining in the fund to his credit, it should be paid to his heirs. The disability clause should accompany any superannuation plan.

Next to retirement and disability benefits come sickness benefits. It is often possible to provide a measure of protection in this respect without adding the feature to the pension system. When this is the case, it is the better course to pursue. School boards can afford to provide this feature directly. Accident insurance is next in order. Attached as both sickness and accident are to disability provisions of pension laws, they may be dispensed with as special elements in a plan. Of death and funeral benefits, it is probable that private companies are prepared to offer as reasonable rates and as desirable features as is the public. No contribution from public sources can at present be expected for death benefits.

Financing the pension plan. Three points of view, two of which are widely variant, may be found concerning methods of financing teachers' pensions. First, there are teachers who believe the public should carry the whole load. They argue that it is simply an efficiency measure for which the public reaps full value. At the other extreme are those who maintain that as pensions are needed because of the improvidence of teachers, and they are the beneficiaries, they should stand the entire expense. Between these two extremes is the larger group who look upon the financing of a pension system as a joint obligation of the teachers and the public. It is this plan which is being most widely accepted. Not only does it appeal to the sense of justice, but it also adds to the financial stability of the system. Last of all, it gives that feeling of mutual interest which helps to make pensions a more successful means of developing educational efficiency.

The fifty-fifty basis is commonly used in apportioning the

costs. This has been adopted because it appeals to the sense of fairness. We are not sure that it is the best basis. A little uncertainty in the minds of some is attached to the methods different States employ in raising their shares by appropriation. If for any reason these were not made, the Association would be unable to meet its obligations unless a double levy were made upon the teachers. On this account, it is sometimes recommended that a millage tax be levied on the whole property of the State, or that a single source sufficient safely to cover the State's share be set aside for the pension fund. Thus inheritance taxes might be utilized solely for this purpose. It is very clear that whatever source or method is used, it should be absolutely dependable.

The amount of benefits. This is also a controversial problem. If annuities are based upon the contributions of the teachers, which vary with their salaries, then those teachers with higher salaries will receive a higher annuity. Unless teachers who are at the bottom of the wage scale are taxed a higher percentage of their salaries than others, they will be unable to purchase a half-pay allowance even in thirty-five years. They are exactly the teachers who have the smallest margin between their total salaries and the costs of living. Since the public pays half the cost of the pension, should not equal allowances be made for all teachers on retirement, irrespective of their previous salaries?

No perfectly acceptable answer can be given to this question. If pensions are looked upon as deferred payments, the same reasons that entitle one person to a higher salary while in service gives him a right to a higher pension after retirement. If this right is not properly established as regards salary, it is not established as regards the pension. The tendency has been to take a middle course. In the first place, a minimum pension is guaranteed all teachers, the State making a slightly higher contribution to make up the

difference for those whose salaries are too low to bring them above the lowest margin. For other teachers, the State favors those who have higher salaries by appropriating a larger amount for their pensions. Still a third plan might be followed. It consists in guaranteeing a minimum, as before; for those who are able to pay for more than the minimum the State may make equal contributions.

By this plan the teacher secures all the extra pension she wants at cost. The State may feel disposed to limit its contribution to the minimum only. At all events, in addition to her independent purchase, she gets, with every other teacher in the State, an equal sum raised from public sources. The minimum should be sufficient to permit the beneficiary to live decently. This has been arbitrarily fixed at about half pay. Investigations should be made to help in arriving at a more reliable figure. Among other things, the cost of living should be a factor.

The management. Upon the point of management there is fortunately little disagreement. The partnership between the State and the teachers has been recognized as necessitating combined control. For this reason the board of directors is generally composed of from three to four State officials, and two to three teachers. The State departments which are given membership on the board are those having the closest connection between the financial and the educational interests of the State — bank superintendent, auditor, and superintendent of schools. The possibility of a clash of interests or a prolonged disagreement is very remote. Such a plan seems eminently fair and well designed to protect the general interests.

Guiding principles. Although a few mooted questions still remain, the principles of pensions plans are now well recognized. We are far past the experimental stage. The old systems are being reorganized, as rapidly as possible, in line

with sound ideas. Either in bringing the systems up to date, or in laying out new systems, the following guiding principles should be observed:

1. The system must be built upon a sound financial foundation. This means the building-up of a reserve adequate to meet claims as they become due, using the best actuarial information available.
2. The system must be supported by joint contributions of the teachers and the public, and jointly administered by them.
3. The rights of every member must be non-forfeitable. This means that, on withdrawing from the profession, each member shall be paid all she has accumulated in the fund, together with interest calculated at a fair rate.
4. There shall be maintained a constant relation between the amount paid and the amount of the pension, after a minimum has been supplied for all. No member shall be called upon to help pay for the pensions of others.

These principles are to be carried out only through the organized endeavors of the whole group of teachers. Some compromise in views will be necessary in order to get a plan under way. Teachers should be willing to make some concessions, particularly along theoretical lines, in order to secure the material benefits for themselves and the profession which result from such protective measures. They can afford to waive most matters of detail altogether. If wrong steps are taken, they will be retraced as soon as submitted to the test of experience. In any case we have to leave something to the future. In the main the profession ought to unite on the broad principles which have been set down, and grapple with the difficulties as they arise.

One of the main needs is for an immediate extension of pension systems. Every teacher in the country should be a party to its benefits. Unscientific and unsound systems ought to be reorganized at once. To do this involves some sacrifice. The teachers of to-day should make it willingly in

order to save the profession from greater sacrifices later on. A different attitude on the part of all teachers, beginners especially, will help greatly in getting pension programs started. With all, an attitude of liberality, tact, composure, and a fair sprinkling of aggressiveness will do wonders in enlisting public support. Anything approaching fault-finding, indulgence in personal criticisms, bickering over non-essentials, and the dog-in-the-manger attitude are to be avoided. We must see the whole program clearly, and stand together in securing its adoption.

Summary. A pension is simply an increase in salary whose payment is deferred until after the teacher has retired from active service. It is a means of developing efficiency, and a reward for faithful and efficient service. The history of teachers' pension in this country extends over only a half-century. The early systems were not sound, and many have had to be reorganized. At present, about half of all the teachers in the public schools are protected by pension legislation. The northeastern section of the United States has taken the leadership in this field. There are many good systems in operation. Among them may be mentioned those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York City. Most of the questions which have excited a difference of opinion have to do with membership, finance, amount and kind of benefits, and management. There is a tendency toward enlarging the membership and extending the range of benefits. Management and finance are joint responsibilities. We need to extend the systems to include all the teachers of the country. This can be accomplished only through organized coöperative effort on the part of teachers.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the validity of the statement sometimes made that if pensions are granted teachers, increases in salaries will probably cease. Can such a statement be substantiated by facts? If it could, would the conclusion that pensions are undesirable be justified?
2. Show how an adequate pension system may help to solve the tenure problem.
3. What fallacy lies back of the reasoning that pensions are a form of charity?
4. Why are young teachers less sympathetic to pension programs than older teachers? What arguments can you think of to use in getting them to change their opposition?
5. Is a teacher who opposes pensions likely to be less professionally minded than one who favors them? Discuss.
6. What have been the most serious mistakes made in planning pension system in the past?
7. Why is it desirable to make contributions to a pension fund compulsory on the part of teachers?
8. Compare the Connecticut plan with the New Jersey plan. What advantages do you find in each? Which is the better?
9. Explain why the State is commonly called upon to bear all the expense of administering a pension system, even when both the teachers and the public contribute to the support.
10. Suppose you could choose between teaching in two school systems which were equal in advantages, except for the existence of a pension in one and its absence in another. Which would you choose?
11. Suppose the salaries in the non-pension system were enough higher to balance the contribution of the public towards pensions. Which would you then choose?
12. Discuss the justice in compelling a teacher to forfeit all she has paid into a pension fund if she resigns or is dismissed before the age of retirement.
13. Show why it is a good thing to offer disability benefits under a pension system.
14. Would it be well to make retirement compulsory, as soon as the age is reached when the teacher would be entitled to her pension? Discuss.

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CHAPTER XV

THE HEALTH OF THE TEACHER

Importance of the problem. From both the social and the individual point of view no problem is more vital than the health of the teacher. If she is afflicted with a contagious disease, the children are constantly exposed to the danger of infection. If she is physically incapacitated in any way, she is far less likely to bring to the school the full quota of happiness and vitality so important in its influence upon the attitudes and dispositions of young people. Difficulties in discipline, lack of sympathy, morbidity, and genuine crankiness may be due to poor health as surely as to deficiencies in natural temperament.

Whether teaching efficiency is actually lowered or not is an unsettled question. Such investigations as have been made fail to reveal a significant correlation between the health of the teacher and her teaching success. On the other hand, there is a strong presumption that such correlation does exist. With better methods of measurement, if there is such a relationship, it will in due time be brought to light. We are positive that the absence of children from school is a cause of slow progress. The assumption also seems warranted that the pupils of a teacher who is present only eighty per cent of the school term make less progress than the pupils of a teacher who is present ninety-seven per cent of the school term.

A third consideration may be cited to bring the matter more clearly to the attention of the teaching profession. It concerns the happiness and welfare of the individual teacher. There certainly can be found nothing attractive either in

contemplating or in having the experiences of the invalid. The compensations of such a life are far less than the costs. The physical and mental suffering involved, the strain upon the energies of others, the economic sacrifices, and the forced giving-up of one's professional interests and associations cannot be regarded lightly. The conclusion can be nothing else than that it is the duty of the profession, and of every member of it, to do everything possible to safeguard and promote her own health and the health of others of her profession.

What has been done. Practically nothing has as yet been done in this direction. The physical and medical inspection of pupils has been quite universally provided for in the better schools. School physicians and school nurses have been employed. Physical directors supervise health programs and institute exercises for the children. The hygienic condition of school plants has been improved. For the most part, however, the objective has been the protection of the health of the children. If the teacher has also benefited, it has been incidentally and indirectly. She has not, on the whole, been directly considered, in spite of the fact that her health should be as much a matter of public concern as the health of the children.

The truth of the foregoing can easily be put to the test. An examination of the records of city school systems usually shows nothing concerning the absence of teachers because of sickness. The cause of her sickness is not given. The authorities know nothing about the care provided for her. The services of a nurse and a physician are not supplied her. No inquiries into the conditions and amount of her work are made. No one knows whether or not the school is responsible for her sickness. She is not examined by the school physician. She is not guided and supervised in health matters by the school nurse.

Health hazards of the teacher. The presence of numerous health hazards would appear to argue the need for a larger amount of supervision of the teacher's health by the school authorities. She runs all the risks met by the children, and others besides. She is subject to the same exposure from contagion. Her work is relatively close and confining. She works long hours. The teaching load may be excessive. She is often expected to carry an additional load of extra-class work.

Features of the environment which react unfavorably to the pupil's health affect hers as well. In order to be near the school, she often lives in unhealthful surroundings. She must put up with unsanitary schoolrooms. She must handle books and equipment that have been used by the children. She is subject to the dangers and discomforts which come with poor ventilation and defective heating. She is seldom considered when lighting facilities are planned. She has insufficient light at her desk. She usually gets the glare from the blackboards and from the school furniture. She faces windows and sources of artificial light far more often than do the pupils. She shares with them equally the perils of bad water, unsanitary plumbing, and dust.

Moreover, she endures certain trials and exactions from which the pupils are happily almost entirely exempt. First may be put discipline, with its drain upon the physical and mental resources. No other occupation has anything which approaches school discipline in kind or difficulty. It is likely to be responsible for the "teacher weariness" which so many feel at the close of a long, hard day. Second, there is the duty of meeting and appeasing, convincing and satisfying, and leading and teaching the parents. Were it not for their infrequency, these would rival discipline itself in difficulty. On top of these two come the marking of papers and the justification of the marks; the adaptation to supervision

and supervisors — not always easy; worry over salary and tenure; and finally the thousand and one personal annoyances and tribulations to which teachers, as human beings living in a highly conventional and not over-thoughtful civilization, must submit.

Health conditions among teachers. The enumeration of so formidable a list of hazards may cause one to speculate how any teacher survives to a green old age. The fact is that many do thus survive. The physical condition of teachers is more terrifying theoretically than it is in reality. Teachers are subject to an especially low mortality rate. The amount of sickness among them is also remarkably small. Both in death rates and in sickness rates teaching ranks with the most favored occupations. In mortality rates, only clergymen have the distinction of standing in as favorable a position as teachers. The statement that "I have time and time again observed teachers afflicted with tuberculosis, asthma, deafness, defective vision, neurasthenia, malnutrition, anæmia, heart disease, or other disorders," must be taken to mean that the writer was not acquainted with other than sick or defective teachers.

A misinterpretation of data must also be held responsible for such alarming conclusions as the following:

A higher tuberculosis mortality for the teaching profession than for the notoriously unhealthful occupations of stonecutter or saloon-keeper is indicated.

The writer here overlooked the fact that the death rate from all causes is extremely low among teachers. The proportion of cases of tuberculosis is consequently correspondingly increased. Allowance should also be made for the fact that the teaching population is concentrated in those early years of life when pulmonary consumption is always a frequent cause of death, regardless of occupation. The study made

by Dublin of the death rate among New York City teachers shows that, if to the deaths reported to be due to tuberculosis there be added all the deaths from other pulmonary diseases that could possibly be associated with tuberculosis, the total would be fewer than one per thousand. This is less than two thirds the death rate from tuberculosis alone among unselected females fifteen years of age and over in the same city.

One may also view as the words of an alarmist the speculations of those who find in the teacher a pronounced type of neurasthenic. No one, of course, now seriously maintains that there is "a type of mentality more or less peculiar to school teachers — *the teacher psychosis*." The diagnosis of neurasthenia is difficult. It is often but a symptom of other conditions which are primary and causal. In any case the proportion of teachers suffering from the disease is no greater, and probably less, than is found in comparable groups in other occupations. Dublin suggests that we be cautious in attributing neurasthenia to the deleterious effects of teaching upon the nervous constitution. In other words, nervous exhaustion and nervous breakdown may be due to inherent nervous weakness, and not to the work which teachers perform.

Sickness among teachers. In the face of so much that is purely speculative concerning the health of teachers, it is refreshing to turn to the results of recent reliable investigations. Two of these are worthy of special mention. The earlier and less complete was carried on by Louis I. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. It covered 3877 cases of teacher-absences in the New York City Schools for the year 1914-15. The second, probably the most reliable and certainly the most comprehensive study of the subject ever made, is the work of J. Y. Hart, of London. In the latter study, 76,258 cases of absence among London

teachers are dealt with for the years 1904-19. The findings in the two studies agree in essential particulars. Where they are different, a careful evaluation of method and data inclines one to accept the conclusions of the later and more thorough investigation.

These studies show that teachers average about eight days' absence from school each year because of sickness. This means that their percentage of attendance is 95.5 per cent in a one-hundred-and-eighty-day year. This is only a little more than the standard of attendance which we expect for the children. Men are more regular in attendance than

AILMENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR ABSENCES OF TEACHERS

NATURE OF ILLNESS	1904- 1914 per cent	1915- 1919 per cent	WHOLE PERIOD per cent	MEN per cent	SINGLE WOMEN per cent	MARRIED WOMEN per cent
Pulmonary: throat, colds, influenza...	43.2	43.0	43.0	46.0	42.5	42.1
Nervous and mental....	14.8	18.7	16.5	12.8	17.4	17.2
Gastric	8.4	7.4	8.0	7.4	7.7	9.2
Rheumatism and syno- vitis.....	6.0	5.1	5.6	6.8	4.7	7.0
Infectiousand contagious.	4.0	3.5	3.8	3.9	4.0	3.0
Debility and anæmia...	3.7	3.6	3.7	2.4	4.0	3.9
Operations ..	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.0	4.5	3.5
Heart diseases	1.8	2.8	2.2	2.4	2.5	1.4
Ophthalmia .	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.4
Dental.....	.9	.9	.9	.8	1.0	.9
Menopause and diseases peculiar to women....	1.6	1.3	1.5		1.5	2.5
Accidents....	3.7	3.2	3.5	5.6	2.9	3.3

women. In the New York investigation, the number of days of absence was found to increase with the age of the teachers. In the London study, the relation between age and number of days of absence was found to be insignificant. The same may be said of the relation between days of sickness and number of years of service. This is to say, that, according to Hart's London investigations, as teachers become older and as their experience increases there is no tendency for them to be out of school more because of sickness. To put the conclusion in other words, old teachers are as healthy as young ones.

Ailments responsible for absences. There is a substantial agreement as to the causes of the absences. Diseases of the respiratory system are the chief ailments. Nervous troubles are second. Something of the distribution of the various causes may be seen from Hart's table for the pre-War and War years.

Amount of absence. Another similarity between the absences of teachers and the absences of pupils may be observed. A small proportion of the total number are responsible for a large proportion of the absences. Hart found that one fifth of the teachers are responsible for nine tenths of the sickness. Nearly fifty per cent of the teaching force are never absent. One per cent only are absent one hundred days or more. Only five per cent are absent more than twenty-one days. In general, persons holding supervisory and administrative positions are absent less frequently from sickness than classroom teachers.

A number of other important facts are brought out in the table that follows. Among other things, it may be seen that men are absent only about half as often as women. Single women are absent a little less frequently than married women. The increase in absences with age is very slight, though it may be well to remark that the data are probably

less reliable for the upper years. As has been stated, when one uses the correlation method, he finds the relationship between age and number of absences is insignificant.

PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER ABSENT ON ACCOUNT OF SICKNESS
BY AGE AND SEX

AGE GROUPS	MEN		SINGLE WOMEN		MARRIED WOMEN		ALL TEACHERS	
	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber
21-25...	4.3	359	6.4	1306	11.1	117	6.3	1782
26-30...	4.1	515	6.9	1584	8.5	285	6.45	2384
31-35...	2.8	524	8.6	1258	7.1	358	6.94	2140
36-40...	2.8	496	8.7	984	8.2	338	7.05	1818
41-45...	3.5	543	9.1	858	9.0	376	7.35	1777
46-50...	4.0	667	10.9	729	9.7	383	8.03	1779
51-55...	5.5	591	15.1	496	11.7	322	10.33	1409
56-60...	5.8	359	10.4	272	13.1	212	9.16	843
61-65...	9.2	117	19.1	123	19.6	78	15.60	318
Average and totals...	4.20	4171	8.80	7610	9.82	2469	7.64	14,250

A basis for comparison with conditions in other occupations is offered by data obtained on the staff of the London post-office. These data show that there is a larger percentage of absences among the postal employees than among the teachers. This may be due to the longer year of the postal employees. They work three hundred days a year; London teachers work two hundred and eighteen days a year. The facts for the years 1916 and 1919 are shown in table on page 281.

Several significant points appear. In the first place, teaching seems to be a more healthful occupation than post-office work. As in teaching, the women are absent oftener

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS' ABSENCE A YEAR, LONDON POST-OFFICE STAFF

TYPE OF POSITION	1916		1919	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
Clerical and supervisory.....	8.6	14.9	9.4	17.3
Sorters, telegraphers, etc.....	10.6	16.2	11.9	22.0
Postmen.....	11.7	..	12.9	..
Telephonists.....	..	15.6	..	15.3
Unclassified.....	12.1	12.4	11.5	15.0

than the men. Also supervisors either have better health or have less strenuous positions. There is also a negative correlation between salaries and absences. This is to say that the lower the salary the higher the number of absences. There is some ground for the inference that salary differences rather than sex may be responsible for the greater number of absences among women.

When teachers are absent. More absences occur on Monday than any other day. Friday ranks next to Monday in this regard. In the first instance, we may argue that week-ends prove more trying on the teacher than do the work days. It may also signify that Monday is a better day for the weekly vacation than Saturday — a position which many now take. At all events, it is significant enough for superintendents and teachers to inquire whether the so-called week-end vacations result in injury to the teachers' health and to a lessening of their teaching efficiency. The large number of Friday absences may be reasonably explained on the grounds that teachers feel the strain of the week's work. However, Friday marks the beginning of a vacation period, as Monday marks its end. Desire to hasten the coming of vacation may be in part responsible.

Investigators have also suspected, in a few cases, the existence of a relationship between the sick-leave pay schedule and the number of days of absence. For example, in a certain city it was brought out that every teacher in the school system took advantage of the full ten days of sick-leave allowed by the board. Every teacher accepted the ten days' pay. Now it is not probable that all of the teachers were really sick. They had simply come to consider themselves entitled to ten days' absence on pay.

London teachers tend to time their sick-leaves so they will not extend over more than one week-end. According to their sick-leave pay schedule, deductions in salary are made for the second week-end absences as well as for the teaching days. This is due to the circumstance of their being paid on a yearly basis. They are not counted really absent unless they stay out more than one week-end, and sick-leave pay is less than service pay. The problem here presented is a most delicate one. If the board is over-liberal, there are a few teachers who will take advantage of the liberality. If a fair margin is not allowed, some of the teachers may work when they should be at home in bed.

The program of improvement. The problem of the teacher's health is one that should be no longer neglected. Teachers' organizations could profitably turn their energies to mapping out a practicable working program to be suggested to the school authorities. While the recommendations offered will vary with local conditions and needs, at least the following features should be made prominent:

1. The installation of an adequate system of teacher-health records.
2. Reasonable sick-leave benefits.
3. Sabbatical leave on salary for travel, study, and rest.
4. Medical examinations, medical attention, and health supervision.

5. Good physical conditions for teaching.
6. Attention to such matters as recreation.
7. The elimination of unnecessary causes of worry and uneasiness.

The system of records. An adequate system of health records would serve two important purposes. In the first place, it would supply an index to the health conditions in the school. Any undue amount of sickness in a school would at once draw the attention of the physicians to the causes. Thus teacher-health records help to protect the children. Moreover, without such records, sick-benefit provisions cannot be administered fairly nor honestly. The very fact that no records are kept, or that they are not checked up, may have the effect of causing some individuals to be lax in obeying the spirit of the regulations. Inasmuch as all such abuses inevitably react upon the innocent, the professional wisdom of having every one live up to the spirit as well as to the letter of the law is undeniable.

In the second place, we need to have many more facts upon which to base practicable programs. We need to know the extent to which school work is to blame for the ailments of teachers. We need to know about the relations between health and age. We need to know the relation between salary and absence for sickness. We need to know what the physical equipment of a person applying for teacher training should be. A form suitable for recording the minimum information concerning the teacher's health should have a place for data on physical and medical examinations, age, teaching load, score of classroom and equipment, list of absences on account of sickness with day of week, month, and kind of ailment, and the percentage of pupil attendance in her room.

Reasonable sick-leave benefits. Almost all larger cities grant full pay during sick-leave. In smaller cities and in

rural schools the teacher stands the loss. In a survey of large and small cities made by the research department of the National Education Association, it was found that twenty-eight per cent of the cities make no allowance whatsoever, and that seventy-two per cent make some allowance. The period for which allowances are made runs from three days in the small cities to ten days in the large cities. The smaller allowance is sufficient to cover about thirty per cent of the cases *in toto*. The larger allowance covers about sixty-five per cent.

This means that if full pay were allowed for ten days, thirty-five per cent of the teachers would still have to suffer a loss, or, to put it in a better way, thirty-five per cent of the cases of sickness would go uncompensated. As the longer periods of illness are often associated with higher expenses for operations, nurses, and medical attendance, the term of leave with pay ought to be extended beyond ten days, at least for exceptional cases. The principle of ten days' leave on full pay might be adopted, with less than full-time rates if the disability ran beyond ten days.

Another solution is offered by means of sick-benefit organizations. The teachers may incorporate, pay dues, and receive allowances when incapacitated. Still better, the board may handle the matter for the teachers, and pay the larger proportion of the costs from public funds. Still another way is for the teachers, either as individuals or in groups, to contract with private commercial concerns for sick benefits. Unless the State intervenes to help village and rural teachers, there is not much to be done. Strong superintendents and unusual teachers may be able to prevail upon local boards to make sick allowances for at least the average number of days absent — eight days a year. The best thing to do is for the State Teachers' Association to take the matter to the legislature.

Sabbatical leave. The sabbatical leave should be general in large city schools. The plan not only offers opportunities for study and travel, but safeguards health through the rest and recreation which it permits. New York City has only recently adopted such a plan. It provides for

A leave of absence with pay to members of the teaching and supervising staff for the purpose of study, travel, or rest, for a period not exceeding one year.

Medical examination and supervision. Teacher-training schools have begun a commendable system of health examination and supervision among their students. Entrants are carefully examined, and a remedial program has been carried forward. At the same time close supervision over health is practiced, and the formation of bad habits, or injury through overwork, strain, and exposure are prevented. Yet it is very seldom that the records are carried into the school where the teacher begins her work. Usually the only health requirements which a candidate for a position is called upon to meet is contained in the supplying of a health certificate. This, in the present state of affairs, is far from being a reliable index to the teacher's physical condition, and at best cannot be considered diagnostic.

A consistent health program would therefore demand a thoroughgoing examination of each teacher by the school physician. While the mere presence of a defect would not constitute a reason for the rejection of the applicant, it would furnish a basis for corrective and preventive effort. At stated intervals the examination should be repeated. At all times the teacher should be supervised by the medical staff and her health protected. In case of sickness, medical attention should be furnished free. It is also worth while to inquire whether it is not both profitable and just for the school board to furnish nurses and hospital care, if not free, at least at greatly reduced rates.

Good physical conditions for teaching. The teacher has not always appreciated the importance of good buildings to her health, comfort, and welfare. Many work day after day and year after year under conditions that are a positive menace to the health. Because the community lacks standards for comparison, it may actually be unaware that the school plant is unhygienic. The teacher should be able to inform them as to the hygienic conditions of the building. As the welfare of the children is also at stake, probably no feature of the health program can be realized so easily as that of obtaining good working quarters. The features most closely connected with health, and therefore those which should be stressed first, are:

1. An abundance of light, with direct sunlight in every room part of the day.
2. Plenty of properly conditioned air. This means the air must be clean, pure, free from odors, and of the proper moisture content.
3. Moderate and equable temperature.
4. Abundance of pure water, sanitary drinking facilities, and washing facilities.
5. Sanitary toilets.
6. Clean and germ-free floors, walls, desks, and other equipment.
7. A comfortable chair for the teacher.
8. A rest-room and a lunch-room for the teachers.

It is comparatively easy to check up on a school building and to estimate its condition from the hygienic point of view. The standard score card may be used, or the teachers may devise a measuring-scale and checking-list of their own. To do the latter, list the items of importance in classroom construction and equipment. On the same sheet lay off five columns headed "Excellent," "Very good," "Average," "Fair," and "Poor." To grade the condition of any item put a check-mark opposite it and under the heading which

describes its condition. New items would be graded "Excellent"; those slightly used would be graded "Very good"; those beginning to show wear and tear would be graded "Average"; those in need of repair would be graded "Fair"; and those in need of replacement would be graded "Poor."

Values may be assigned to each column, if desired, five standing for "Excellent," four for "Very good," and so on. A perfect classroom would equal five times the number of items on which it was graded. To find the per cent which any room is of perfect, divide the score assigned it by the perfect score. When the data have been collected and tabulated, they may be put before the Parent-Teacher Association or referred to the administrative authorities.

The personal program of the teacher. No health program is complete which ignores the individual's own part in it. The school authorities may supply the best of medical supervision and school environment, and yet the health of the teacher may be impaired through bad personal habits. She ought in all reason to observe the same rules of health which she teaches the children. Late hours, overwork, eye-strain, neglect of dietary principles, failure to take precautions against contagious diseases, and neglect of exercise are indefensible in a person of intelligence.

Recreation is of first importance as a means of maintaining health. The forms in which teachers may engage are almost innumerable. There is no reason in the world why she may not indulge her recreational interests as freely as any one else in the community. Among those forms of recreation which have been found popular among teachers are the following:

Sewing
Painting
Card playing
Dancing

Riding
Motoring
Picnics
Nature study

Basket-ball
Tennis
Golf
Camping

Reading
Lectures
Movies

Radio
Concerts
Walking

Kodaking
Gardening
Skating

It should also not be forgotten that there are recreational opportunities in connection with the daily school program. Playing games with the children is not only a beneficial form of exercise, but it is an excellent means of developing school spirit and of increasing one's personal influence with the group. Moreover, a school with a diversified program offers changes that amount to recreation. After one has been teaching the formal classroom subjects, it is refreshing and restful to turn to subjects that call for expression and activity. The daily program should, if possible, be arranged to provide alteration of formal and activity subjects. It is good, too, to go to the playgrounds with the pupils at recess times.

Other forms of recreation. The week-ends may also be utilized. If an examination of the sick-leave records shows that more teachers are absent on Monday than on any other day, the question may well be raised whether the week-ends are being wisely used or not. Teachers, of course, may question whether any one has a right to inquire how they spend their leisure time. Probably no one has such a right. Nevertheless, we may expect that sooner or later an accounting will be called for the neglect or misuse of time, though it may simply consist in failure to gain promotion or in lessened physical efficiency. That there is not considerably more sickness among older teachers indicates that they have conserved their health wisely and well.

The long vacation periods which are granted teachers are favorable to the protection and the promotion of health. If the teacher finds it necessary to work during the summer, there are many occupations in which she can engage with positive physical benefits. A complete change in type of

work is usually desirable. Thus, confining and inactive indoor jobs are scarcely to be recommended. Work that requires physical activity is better than the quiet types. If rest is needed, the vacation period of two or three months is long enough for one to recuperate. If corrective gymnastics or treatment is indicated, summer school often offers the desired privilege.

Institutes may also be made to contribute their quota to teacher recreation. The better organized programs present a large variety of attractions. Moving pictures, music, and art may be prominent features. Play periods at the close of each day's session may be directed by teachers of physical education. Attendance at such times should be voluntary. Where this plan has been tried, it is found that about one fourth of all the teachers will turn out for play. Excursions, picnics, dancing, and sight-seeing trips may be planned without greatly decreasing the length of the formal program, and with the effect of greatly increasing its efficiency.

The removal of causes of worry and annoyance. Teachers often report that the supervisor who helps them the most is the one who protects them from worry and annoyance. When the main causes of worry are enumerated, they are found to be tenure, salary, promotion, rating, parents, discipline, entertainments, and the meeting of new requirements, such as giving and checking standard tests. Others also listed are the problem of keeping pupils in line, interruptions to class-work, and preparing long and elaborate reports. Several of these problems are dealt with in other chapters. Others must be accepted as necessary accompaniments of the teaching vocation. There is no occupation known that is wholly free from annoyances.

However, it is not maintained that teachers should submit passively to unsatisfactory conditions. The principle, "It is fate," has no place in the thinking of the progressive

teacher. When confronted by a troublesome problem, seek guidance and assistance if you are unable to solve it for yourself. Bring it up in the teachers' association. Go to the principal or to the superintendent and lay the matter before him. If these do not invite your confidence, apply for help to another teacher, a former teacher of your own, or to some person you know of who is noted for exercising good judgment.

We need to understand that, where guidance is lacking in experience and investigation, the immediate source to turn to is the best judgment you can get. Of course, questions cannot be answered absolutely infallibly by judgment, but judgment can point out the direction to go for the truth. Make a temporary plan first, and then search out facts that will aid in the improvement of the plan. It is a wise thing for teachers of any age to talk over their difficulties with others, and to ask for assistance unashamed. The very sharing of one's doubts and questions, together with the acceptance of some tentative working scheme, may, indeed, remove the worry. Furthermore, young people particularly ought to realize that their fellows in the teaching profession welcome the opportunity to be of help to them.

A rational attitude toward the whole health problem of teachers will have the effect of raising the profession in the estimation and confidence of the public. The tendency of teachers, which some notice, to be erratic and queer, is nothing more than a concomitant of poor mental or physical health. A sound mind in a sound body is a worth-while ideal for any one. The people of this country have awakened to the necessity for preserving and developing our physical inheritance. Any carelessness or neglect on the part of teachers in this respect is sure to be noticed and commented upon unfavorably. The public is not disposed to have the health of the children jeopardized nor to put up with ineffi-

cient service. In equipping herself physically for the task of teaching, the teacher may also realize that she is protecting her own health — the most valuable asset she has.

Summary. The problem of the teacher's health is important, both to the teacher and to the public. Yet, important as the matter is, little has been done by school authorities to gather authentic data on the subject. Practically nothing has been done to conserve and improve the teacher's health. The sensational views of the earlier writers who regarded teachers as weak, unhealthy, and predisposed to nervous breakdown and to tuberculosis have not been borne out by the facts of recent investigators. On the other hand, the death-rate and the sickness-rate among teachers is exceedingly low. Nevertheless, there is sufficient room for improvement to warrant teachers' organizations and administrative officials in planning a thorough and comprehensive health program. As a minimum, such a program should include a complete system of health records, generous sick benefits, sabbatical vacations, medical attention, good working conditions, and the removal of petty causes of annoyance. This general program should be supplemented by each teacher giving careful attention to her own physical well-being.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Refer to some of the studies which have been made on causes of success and of failure among teachers. To what extent is poor health associated with failure? Good health with success? Comment upon your findings.
2. How do you account for the fact that so little attention has been paid to the health of the teacher, in contrast with the recent emphasis upon child hygiene?
3. Explain how a failure to comprehend that teachers are subject to a very low sickness and mortality rate would cause one to believe that a disease such as tuberculosis was prevalent among them.
4. Discuss the pros and cons of the question whether teacher-absence means lowered pupil-efficiency.

5. How do you explain the seemingly popular conclusion that teachers are especially subject to nervous disorders?
6. Hart's data on the nature of the ailments to which teachers are subject were taken from the certificates of many different physicians. What conclusions may be justified from this fact concerning the reliability of the data?
7. Try to prove the inference that there is a connection between grade of salary and amount of absence due to sickness. Does it seem as reasonable to suppose that the higher salary is due to better health?
8. Try to explain, in the same way, the fact that teachers in supervisory positions are absent less on account of sickness.
9. Make out a form which could be used in recording necessary data on the absences of teachers from their duties.
10. Examine a classroom, and report upon the health hazards which you observe.
11. Note any available school program, and comment upon changes which may be made in the direction of furnishing greater recreational opportunities.
12. Enumerate, out of your experience and observation, the chief school causes of worry and annoyance which might lead to the teacher's being sick.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE TEACHER AND THE COMMUNITY

Types of community relations. The school relationships are not the only ones which are of importance to the teacher and the teaching profession. Connections with the community are very vital to the individual and to group welfare. They cannot be evaded. In the round of daily life, every teacher is brought into intimate contact with the social and business interests of her school neighborhood. She cannot live apart from the people she serves.

Two aspects of the whole problem of community relationships may be identified. First of all are those which contribute to the teacher's personal welfare. These include her home and living associations, her business relationships, and her cultural and recreational connections. Second comes the group of interests no less important, but somewhat less personal. These comprise the community activities. The problem here is to estimate the degree and kind of the teacher's participation, involving a consideration of what, from the point of view of feasibility and wisdom, the teacher should undertake.

A high degree of ability is required of the teacher in order that she may meet her social problems successfully. She must possess social intelligence. She must be strong in such traits of character as sociability, tact, kindness, and adaptability. She must have a broad and genuine interest in community affairs. She must know that one way to acquire interest is through participation. She must comprehend the community mind. A knowledge of social psychology will prove more useful to her here than a knowledge of individual differences.

Community likenesses and differences. This point of view will lead the teacher very early to the conclusion that all communities are much alike. The likeness probably extends to ninety-five per cent of all the community factors, and comprises most everything fundamental. However, she will also observe that in a few respects the community differs from others. A city possesses individuality. These differences mark the unique contribution which the people have made to social progress, or stand out clearly as social shortages and instances of social neglect. If the first, the community is likely to be inordinately proud of whatever makes it distinct. If the second, the community is likely to be very sensitive to references to its shortcomings. Get yourself into the good graces of the community by judicious praise of its good qualities; do not offend by tactless comments upon its shortcomings.

The teacher will have no new task before her in adapting herself to the modes of behavior which are everywhere common. She needs but to fit herself into the new environment by going ahead in the customary way. In the second respect, she should adapt herself to the approved mode of the larger group, though it is new to her. At the same time, she should not bring with her modes of conduct which characterized her old community, but which are unknown in the new. This does not mean that the teacher should sacrifice her own individuality. If she has ideas which she thinks will make for the improvement of the new community when they are introduced, she should work to introduce them. The first step, though, is to establish herself in the confidence of the people by accepting their modes. If she would teach the Romans to live better, she must first live as the Romans do.

A good first impression. Her success and her opportunity depend very greatly upon her making a good first impression. In fact, this is the only impression she makes upon many

people. Likes and dislikes are not ordinarily rationalized. Whims and prejudices influence the conduct of a good many people. They know that they like or they dislike a person. They do not know why. They do not stop to analyze their conduct. Likes and dislikes are real, whether they are based upon reason or not. The teacher need have no compunction in endeavoring to establish herself in the good graces of the community. Whether community confidence is an index to the teacher's real efficiency or not, she is more efficient because of it. No teacher who is mentally well balanced will ever shock the people by unusual and sensational behavior.

Numerous instances of the failure of the teacher to be tactful and considerate of the people of the community might be cited. One teacher remarked, at the end of her first day's service, that there was less culture in the community than in any she had ever known. A new principal, on the day of his arrival in his district, was engaged in conversation with two of the leading citizens. One asked him how he liked the city in which the principal had previously served. He replied that the only objection he had to it was that it contained too many members of the — Church. The fact that he was innocent that he was talking to two of the leading members of the church he criticized did not condone his offense.

Special problems; the teacher's home. The first problem of a new teacher, and a constantly recurring problem of an old teacher, is to find suitable living quarters. Here again her comfort and her efficiency are dependent upon her being well cared for. So far as is known, no complaint has ever been addressed to teachers for their indulgence in extravagance in this respect. Quality, though, is not to be neglected. The teacher is entitled to decent living conditions. Not only is it clearly a social duty to see that she is well

provided for; it is also good business. The teacher who has a good home is more valuable to the community.

The suggestions and cautions which apply to the selection of living quarters are infinite. Most teachers do not need them at all; a few need them very badly. The contract between the teacher and the boarding-house-keeper is much like a contract in partnership. It comprises both business and social relationships. For this reason, it should not be entered into lightly. In small cities and in rural communities the contract cannot easily be dissolved. If the teacher moves her boarding-place the consequences are likely to be unpleasant. It is better for her to stay at a hotel temporarily, or submit to the inconvenience of traveling some distance to school, until she is sure that she has the right place to live.

In smaller cities and in rural districts the new teacher should seek the counsel of the superintendent and of teachers who know the community. In large cities, such service ought to be performed by the teachers' organizations. A special committee should prepare a list of available places, and this should be put at the disposal of the new teachers. If practicable, the available places should be graded into four or five groups on the basis of desirability. In doing this, consider such points as the following:

1. *Comfort and convenience.* This is one of the main points with which quality is concerned. It means a room well lighted, heated, and furnished. It means commodious quarters in a good neighborhood. Food should be nourishing, abundant, and of a large variety. Prices should be such as to enable the teacher to live within the fifty per cent range of the subsistence allowance. Location should be within walking distance of the school, or within easy access of dependable means of transportation. It is an added advantage if the library, parks, theaters, and convenience-business center are near.
2. *Privacy.* The teacher's room should be free from intrusion at

all times. It should be quiet. One of the objections to living in a private home is that, with growing acquaintance, the teacher may come to be treated "just as one of the family," with consequences disastrous to her peace of mind and her leisure.

3. *Freedom.* She should not be in a place where everything she does is spied upon, and where she is subject to minute oversight and restrictions. She has little enough freedom at school. She should not be obliged to inhibit all forms of natural expression in her home. One reason given by many teachers for wanting to get away from the paternal roof is that they may be free from the restraints which have been imposed upon them from childhood. There is nothing gained in exchanging the tutelage of the home for the supervision of a warden-like landlady.
4. *Congenial associations.* The tendency to find pleasure in the company of others is deeply rooted in human behavior. The teacher, even more than any one else, needs to take advantage of after-work hours to satisfy the social inclinations. She is in the company of children all day. While she does not in any way lose from such associations, she needs also the stimulation of contact with adult minds. Although she can have such associations without their being supplied at her boarding-place, there is an added satisfaction in living with people who are congenial.

Teachers' clubs. As a means of complying with the principles which have just been given, teachers' clubs have been organized. They are designed to provide good living quarters, and to offer at the same time something in the way of recreational, cultural, and inspirational opportunities. The initiative in their organization is usually taken by the local teachers' association. The management is in charge of a special committee. The secretary attends to business matters, and may be allowed some remuneration for her services. The costs of maintenance are met by the rentals. In a few cities, the first-floor rooms are rented to transients, after the manner of the "Y." The upper floors are reserved for mem-

bers. In Buffalo, New York, and Springfield, Illinois, the teachers own the club building.

Even more has been done toward furnishing living quarters for association members during week-ends and vacations. Teachers' associations maintain seashore cottages, mountain cabins, and camps. The expenses connected with these usually are small. They are utilized by large groups for picnics, and by small groups for long periods. The recreational opportunities are greatly widened by this means, and the costs of vacations kept down to the minimum.

One means of solving this problem is at hand. Almost every city of importance now has an auxiliary of the Business Women's Club. Teachers are eligible to membership. Many of the young women in business, who comprise the bulk of the personnel of the club, have a living problem similar to that of teachers. The solution, therefore, is for the group to establish living quarters, for such as desire it, in a club building. The contact of teachers with this progressive and wide-awake portion of our population would be conducive to their efficiency and influence. The experiment is in a fair way of being tried out in the immediate future.

The teacherage. The rather unhappy name of "teacherage" has been applied to the home supplied by the public to the teachers. In city schools, where a group is accommodated, the name "club" is substituted for "teacherage." In some communities the school board builds and equips a model home for the use of the domestic science department, and permits its use by teachers rent free. Where the public school dormitory plan has been adopted, teachers may find accommodations at greatly reduced rates. This last is impracticable for more than a very few teachers if it carries with it responsibility for student conduct, and also only applies to the high school. Teachers have enough discipline troubles in the day without assuming the load for twenty-four hours.

This objection does not apply to the model-home idea. The teaching of domestic science is regarded as necessary in every school. Building and equipment must be supplied. There are marked advantages in fitting up a home in which the teaching and practice may be carried on. The costs of construction and operation are no more than the same facilities would cost if put into the main school building. When the separate-building plan is followed, the facilities may be used continuously: by the pupils in the daytime during class hours, and by the teachers the remainder of the day.

The teacherage idea has been developed most widely in small rural-school districts. It is often the only means of finding a living place for the teacher. More often it is the only means by which she can be assured of comfort, convenience, privacy, and freedom. It is a means of developing teacher interest in the community, renders her tenure more stable, and gives her more time and opportunity for preparation of her daily work. The teacherage may also, like the clubs, serve a double use.

Disadvantages of clubs and teacherages. Critics have not been slow to point out certain disadvantages in clubs and teacherages. In the clubs, there is the danger that the living group may not be congenial. The adjustment of personalities is not an easy matter even in a home, where the members are bound to each other by ties of blood. Unless there is skillful management, combined with much tact and consideration on the part of all, it is almost impossible to prevent some friction from arising. It may be carried over into the schools. Some member may be inclined to gossip and may pass on, for the edification of the principal, superintendent, and patrons, whatever transpires in the inner circle. However, most of these disadvantages can be dispelled by wise organization. When the novelty of the club wears off, the members will be able to fit themselves into the

routine without difficulty. College fraternities and sororities demonstrate every day the possibilities of diverse personalities being welded into a unified living group.

As an example of simple organization we have the rules adopted by the teachers of Menasha, Wisconsin, for the management of the house which is furnished by the school board:

1. All women residing at the teacherage shall be as quiet as though retired at eleven o'clock.
2. Teachers returning from social functions as late as eleven o'clock shall not invite company into the house.
3. Generally speaking, the house shall have lights out by eleven-thirty.
4. If lights be continued after this hour, it shall be by unanimous consent of all residents.
5. Any resident not obeying these rules forfeits the right to live at the teacherage.

The superintendent finds the home a partial solution of the problem of making teachers contented and happy "on the job." The teachers themselves find it "more like a home and less like a boarding-house." Another approves it because she enjoys "the companionship of others with whom I have mutual interests." A third states: "I enjoy using the fireplace, the gas-range, and the piano, without feeling that I am inconveniencing any one. I like, too, the privilege of inviting a friend in for an hour without being obliged to make arrangements beforehand." The report is summarized with the comment that several years of experience with the plan gives assurance of its continued success and good effect upon the morale of the teaching corps.

The rural teacherage presents a different and a more difficult problem. The teacher lacks associations. She is isolated. She is forced to live alone. She has no one to turn to in case of accident or illness. She must attend to the household duties. She must do marketing, start fires, shovel

snow, and care for the yard and garden. She is lonely if she does not receive company; she is likely to be gossiped about if she does. The club, provided by the school, is perhaps the best solution of the boarding problem in the city and consolidated district. The teacherage is not a perfect solution of the rural living problem, but doubtless better than living in the private home. The way out comes only with the elimination of the one-teacher school — a consummation that is rapidly being effected.

Business relations. Teachers may draw some comfort from the fact that their business relations are few and infrequent. So much the more important is it that such as they have be dispatched efficiently. A knowledge of the simple elements of business procedure and management is absolutely essential. It does not reflect well upon the profession to have the members looked upon as impractical visionaries, careless and ignorant alike of the very rudiments of finance. Because one teacher, when informed that her bank account was overdrawn, wrote a check and presented it to the banker to cover the deficit, this bank has regarded all teachers as babes in the woods when it comes to money matters. With the modern worship of business, even when embodied in nothing more complicated than selling peanuts or cast iron, a reputation for business ability would help the status of the profession immensely.

Nothing so serious as making and accumulating wealth is signified. Few teachers have ever become wealthy. If any have done so, it has been due to unusual abilities and unusual opportunities combined, or to a neglect of teaching duties — sometimes to all three. Success in teaching and money-making seldom go together. There are, however, a few business principles which every teacher should heed. These may be stated, briefly, as follows:

1. She should have a mastery of simple business forms, and be

able to perform simple business transactions, such as verifying a tax receipt, receipting a bill, and making out a personal budget.

2. She should settle all debts and obligations promptly.
3. She should reply promptly to all business communications.
4. She should fill out official reports correctly, and send them in on time.

Social relations. Teachers should take care not to go to extremes on social matters. Parties, dances, and picnics can be overdone. The frivolous habit of flitting from one gathering to another is wasteful and destructive to professional advancement. On the other hand, isolation is to be avoided. There is greater danger in this extreme than in the other. Teaching is a social vocation. Success is dependent upon the ability to meet people and work with people. The art of doing this well can best be acquired and maintained by practice. It is so easy for one to stay in. The habits of being over-social and of being too retiring alike grow with the years; hence the importance of establishing the right kind of balance between work and social interests.

The forms of social activity in which one may indulge is often a perplexing problem to a young teacher. Suppose that the teacher has been accustomed in her home community to playing cards and dancing. She goes out to teach in a community where such pastimes are frowned upon. She sees other young people engaging in these activities. If she participates, a storm of criticism is sent upon her. She naturally resents such an attitude of narrowness on the part of the public. It must be confessed that the justice is all on her side. No rational person wants to accumulate the little tricks and mannerisms of primness and old-maidism found in caricatures of teachers. Teachers ought not to have to measure up to standards of perfection which others have rejected as impossible for themselves.

Nevertheless many matters, such as card-playing and

dancing, are too unimportant to fight for. There are so many forms of social recreation that no person of initiative and resource is limited to any two or three. As a matter of common sense it is better to accept good-naturedly some of the situations that arise out of popular prejudice and stupidity, and take up new and approved interests. The principle of conforming to the reasonable community mode applies in this case, as in many others. Where the mode is felt to be unreasonable, if she is unable to change it she should seek a new and more congenial environment.

Dress and the arrangement of the hair are other touchy matters. Of the first it is enough to remark that the extremist, either in fashion or in expenditures, displays neither sound judgment nor good taste. The woman teacher who follows the practical standard set by business women of good form, neatness, and efficiency in dress cannot be mistaken. On the other hand, simplicity in dress which robs the teacher of attractiveness is to be condemned. Dowdiness and showiness are equally out of place. The criterion of good taste is the main one to satisfy.

Several times in this decade we have been furnished the spectacle of a teacher being dismissed because she bobbed her hair. This is Chinese conservatism in the *n*th degree. It is quite true that the dictates of craze or fashion have very, very many times been responsible for the action. At the same time, the movement is in the direction of progress, and has been thus understood by thinking people. It will be a happy day for the teaching profession when every member in it cannot be touched by narrowness and intolerance. No principle can take the place of clear-headed judgment in deciding questions of this kind. The couplet from Pope is as meaningful as any:

Be not the first by whom the new is tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.

Painting, powdering, and mutilation of the ears have been known through the ages. So far, precepts, exhortation, and legislation have been powerless before the practice. Neither economic security nor higher education has been effective against it. From the point of view of good taste the verdict is in the negative. Probably there is no situation in school which cannot be met as successfully without the adornments as with them. If the popular mind is critical on a small matter such as this, it is foolish to oppose it. However, when out-of-school associations are considered, the decision must remain with the individual. Again, the principle of conforming to the mode on such non-essentials is pertinent.

The community impression of the school. The usual run of people in a community are not very scientific in their appraisal of the school. They depend upon what the pupils say, and upon what the teachers say and do. Most of them being good-natured, tolerant folk, who have an inherent faith in the virtues of education, they are prone to give great weight to the teacher's estimate of the worth of their schools. In other words, they accept us at our own valuation. Whatever discounting they do, they seldom have a higher opinion of the school than is expressed by the teachers. This being the case, it is vital that everything the teacher says concerning education be constructive, and, on the whole, complimentary. If the teacher says that the school is behind the times, the supervision inefficient, and the children inferior, she is quoted as an authority.

Whatever the teacher says, therefore, should proclaim her loyalty to the school and to the cause of education. It is true that conditions will seldom be perfect. The school authorities, the buildings and equipment, the children, and the other teachers may deserve criticism. Fault-finding is not fault-rectifying. The best thing to do is to refrain from specific comments concerning the shortcomings of individuals.

One does not need to condone error in order to do this. One may work energetically to remedy any evils. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the perennial critic handicaps herself for coöperative and constructive effort. People are suspicious of her. They do not work agreeably with her. She simply creates dissatisfaction with the school without contributing toward its improvement. The main principle is to hold true to the spirit and purpose of education yourself, and be twice as quick to bestow praise as to point out defect.

Community activities. Organized community activities also present a problem for the teacher and the profession. Individual and group services will be in constant demand in helping to plan and carry out community programs. The more efficient and conscientious the teacher, the greater the demand. Some of the zealous community leaders do not appear to realize that teaching, with its concomitant activities, makes a large demand upon the teacher's limited strength and limited time. She must reserve some time for preparation and improvement. She must reserve some time for rest and recreation. If there is still a margin available, the community has claims upon it. The decision as to how and to what extent the claims shall be satisfied rests altogether with the teacher.

One of the first demands comes from the church. Teachers are called upon to teach in the Sunday School, play the organ, sing in the choir, lead the young people's meeting, and fill the pulpit. That they can do any or all of these things well is a compliment to their talent and versatility. The failure to do these things cannot be looked upon as a sign of shirking or of irreligion. Sunday should be free from responsibility for the teacher. No one has a right to urge Sunday teaching upon the teacher as a duty and an obligation. Teaching is her regular occupation. To insist upon her doing it on Sunday is like extending the seven-day week to a

person in any other occupation. If she wants to teach on Sunday, that is another matter; if she does not want to, she should gently but firmly explain her position, and then stand by it. The same may be said of any other form of Sunday activity.

Fraternal organizations. Lodges and fraternal societies afford opportunities for the satisfaction of the social tendencies and for coöperation in welfare activities. The ceremonies are restful and inspiring. The ideals are worthy. The sense of social obligation among members and to non-members is usually strong. Scarcely a meeting but sees a realization of some of the principles in practice. In one organization or another will be found the best people of the community. The friendships cultivated here are nearly always lasting. The fraternal atmosphere dissolves some of the restraints with which teaching is surrounded, and associations are put on the happy personal plane of real liking.

The motive in joining fraternal societies should not be personal advancement. The "joiner" is universally regarded with suspicion. Membership in two social fraternities is enough. The purpose in the membership is to unite with others in welfare work. The pooling of the resources and energies of the group make their efforts more effective than the sum of the efforts of individuals working independently. The social benefits: friendships, associations, recreation, coöperation, discussion, and leadership are secondary in importance, and as a rule are means to an end. The teacher who hopes to compensate for inefficiency by lodge membership is due to receive a rude awakening. Lodge influence may help a teacher to obtain a position; it cannot hold it for her, or him. Furthermore, no professional-minded teacher relies upon it for either. She affiliates with lodges for what she can give, not for what she can get.

Welfare organizations. Numerous other types of partici-

pation may be instanced. The National League of Teachers' Associations reports that membership in women's clubs is universally open to women teachers. There is no disposition to discriminate against them for financial reasons. Men and women teachers alike are welcomed to membership in business organizations and commercial clubs. Community associations, civic leagues, child-welfare societies, and the many other organizations receive them into membership. The range of choice is wide enough so that no one need be left out.

One of the gravest dangers faced by a teacher is that she will dissipate her energies by trying to do too much. She should specialize in social work, as in teaching. A rather limited program, things well done, fidelity to obligations, and persistence mark the successful social worker. The social program of a city teacher is given below to show how easy it is to take up all one's spare time in community participation without stressing any one particularly:

1. Church attendance, once weekly.
2. Community center, once weekly.
3. Child-welfare association, once bi-weekly.
4. Civic-league luncheon, once weekly.
5. Parent-teacher association, once bi-weekly.
6. Lodge, once weekly.
7. Library committee, once monthly.
8. Woman's club, once bi-weekly.

A very conservative estimate of the amount of time taken up by the foregoing program is twelve hours a week.

A review of the reports of teachers' associations indicates that much is being done by the profession in promoting social improvement. Particular attention has been given to matters affecting the welfare of women and children. They have helped to establish child-labor laws, child-welfare commissions, and courts of domestic relations. They have sup-

ported local measures for parks, playgrounds, housing, and for the suppression of vice. They have cared for war orphans, provided medical attention for cripples, and donated funds for the sick. There has been no program of social betterment that has failed to obtain the loyal support of the teaching profession.

Summary. A teacher has two kinds of community problems. There are first her own personal problems, and second the problems which belong to her jointly with other members of the community. The possession of strong social qualities are essential to the teacher's success. One of the leading problems of the teacher is to find a satisfactory boarding-place. Teachers' associations should collect information concerning available places, and advise teachers on the subject. The minimum requirements of an acceptable boarding-place are comfort and convenience, privacy, freedom, and the right kind of associations. In some cities and in many rural communities the school authorities provide living quarters for the teachers. A few living clubs have been organized by teachers. While the business relations of teachers are few, such as there are should be discharged promptly and accurately. In social relations the wise teacher will take care not to offend against the canons of good taste and the modes of the community. She is entitled to a large degree of freedom, however, and should not sacrifice worth-while principles nor be bullied by local ignorance and prejudice. Her services are very valuable in the promotion of community affairs, but she should not accept too heavy a load. She should, moreover, reserve the right to participate in the way and to the extent that her own inclinations and sense of duty indicate.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Would it be desirable for teachers to wear uniforms while on duty, as nurses do? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the plan.
2. Explain what is meant by social intelligence.
3. Name as many ways as you can in which communities are essentially alike. Do you agree that all of them have more in common than they have differences?
4. Why is it that teachers who go from a rural community to a city may arouse criticism of their behavior, while the same is even more likely to be true of city teachers going into rural districts?
5. If you were looking for a boarding place in a private home, what are some of the requirements you would try to have met in order to be satisfied?
6. What are the advantages in living in a club over living in a private home? Some of the disadvantages?
7. Explain why unpleasant results often attend a change of boarding-place, especially in rural and small-city communities. If conditions were very unsatisfactory to the teacher, would you advise her to put up with them or change? Discuss.
8. How do you account for the common belief that teachers are impractical and even ignorant in dealing with money matters? Is it true?
9. What is your reaction to the statement that it is not worth while for the teacher to fight over non-essentials? Do you class the right to dance and play cards in this category?
10. Should teaching in Sunday School be taken into consideration when allotting the load of a teacher? Discuss.
11. Are there any values found in lodge membership which are not equally found in the church? Discuss.
12. Is the efficiency of the teacher increased by a reasonable program of community participation? Explain.
13. Try to explain the decided opposition which innovations, such as bobbing the hair, may excite even among supposedly intelligent school authorities.
14. Prepare what in your estimation is a reasonable weekly social program for the teacher who teaches five hours daily.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The professional outlook. The preceding sixteen chapters have been devoted to the discussion of ways and means by which the welfare of teachers and of the teaching profession may be promoted. While one cannot help acknowledging that we are far from an ideal solution of many of the problems, the most pessimistic must confess that progress is being made. Others would say that the progress is marked. We have squared our shoulders and gone to work. Teachers know what should be done in order to improve their own status. They are rapidly becoming acquainted with methods of getting educational programs adopted. They are assuming a far more positive and aggressive attitude toward public affairs, with consequently growing prestige and influence. This dynamic outlook is prophetic of a better future not only for teachers, but for the cause of education as well.

It is a commonplace that the members of a profession are not limited to duties and obligations to the vocational group alone. They are obligated to service and leadership to all people. Teachers must take the social as opposed to the selfish point of view. Anything like narrowness among teachers is destructive of both the professional and social interests. Our emphasis upon the improvement of the status of the teacher is justified because it carries with it the advancement of society. We put no limit upon the giving of service, but only insist upon such conditions for service as will make effort effective and significant.

There is thus no chance for teachers to assume the do-

nothing attitude. Most of the things they want for themselves are alike necessary for all mankind. Decent wages and a standard of living that enables people to live in comfort are reasonable social objectives. Every one should have a reasonable competence for old age or disability. No one should be expected to carry an undue burden of work — one that is beyond his strength or that deprives him of all enjoyment of life. Every one is entitled to security in his chosen work as long as he merits it. We must recognize the rights of all to the development of personal initiative and the honest expression of opinion.

The educational program. Now it is through the sovereign device of education that teachers can accomplish the most in the way of improvement. To this end, it is a manifest professional duty to keep the schools in effective working order. There is nothing more disappointing than ancient and half-hearted educational methods and efforts. A broad and comprehensive point of view is comprehended in a wide-awake, going school system. While a given school should serve its local constituents faithfully, teachers should not overlook the fact that education is also a State and a National enterprise. A weak and ineffective school system would soon be reflected in a disorganized and helpless Nation. It is within the power of the profession to make teaching statesmanship of a high order, and to make it a prime contributor to national progress.

That this may be done, our practices and conditions should be continuously under scrutiny. The phrase "making the schools better" signifies keeping them in touch with the needs of the present. It is not a reflection upon the schools of the past. Many and rapid changes are taking place in the world. Our schools must reflect these changes; they must also anticipate future demands and help in directing society toward desirable objectives. In particular

this involves reorganization and improvement along many lines. Of the more important lines along which constructive action is now needed, the following may be taken as illustrative:

1. A better system of school organization and administration.
2. More adequate and better-distributed financial support.
3. New buildings and equipment.
4. A new basis for pupil classification.
5. A curriculum better adapted to life needs.
6. Effective training for citizenship.
7. A new type of social leadership.

A better system of school organization. While our city school systems are fairly well organized, a new type of educational organization is especially needed for our rural and small-town schools. As long as we persist in keeping a myriad of little and isolated village and rural school districts, we never can have satisfactory conditions for teachers. Neither can we have the dynamic, useful type of education such communities need. The matter of organizing districts of sufficient size and wealth to support schools adequately is of fundamental importance to half our population. The idealistic and paternal legislation which politicians have planned for the relief of country areas is, at the best, of temporary value. The downright reforms must come through intelligent education. The only way to prevent the depletion of rural communities and to develop vigorous citizens there is through maintaining rural schools of force and character, and on the level with the ideals of the best country people.

The reorganization needed is a larger unit of administration and control. The consolidation of rural and village districts is a step in advance. The union of all districts in a county-unit plan is better. Perhaps in some instances, it may even be wise to consolidate several counties into a single admin-

istrative school district. In making such changes we are simply bringing into effect in rural communities the reforms that have proved so effective in city school organization and in business enterprises. Although something may be done for the teachers and for the schools in rural districts as they are now organized, it seems not an extreme statement to say that no lasting and really helpful changes for the better can ever be made until a larger administrative unit than the school district is established.

More adequate and better-distributed financial support. The foregoing argument applies with especial force to the financial situation. Rural schools are inferior to city schools in large part because they are not adequately supported. The small amount of the local resources upon which such schools generally can draw makes it impossible for them to be good schools. There are some districts in this country whose total assessed wealth, if all of it were used, would be insufficient to maintain the kind of school they ought to have for two years; it is useless to talk about higher salaries for teachers in such districts when a decent salary for one year would take half the local assessed wealth of the patrons.

Gross violations of the essential principles of a democracy are the consequence of our financial methods. Neither educational opportunities nor tax burdens are even approximately equalized. Capable children go without the training that is their birthright. The little margin of income which is realized above necessities goes for taxes. If a fair index to school efficiency is furnished by the quality and amount of facilities provided, then some schools are many times as good as others. In order to meet the minimum requirements set down by the State, some districts must carry twenty — even thirty — times the tax load of other districts.

In order to equalize educational opportunities and burden

we shall also have to organize larger financial units. Forming county districts will help to solve the problem. This is not enough, though, because counties also vary greatly in their needs and in their abilities. The States will have to give very material help. This is not the last step, for the States also vary greatly in needs and resources from one another. Everything points to the expediency of drawing a large proportion of our school revenues from national sources. On the one hand, such action will help to equalize taxes and advantages. On the other hand, such support is a timely recognition that the Nation as a whole has educational obligations to its future citizenship. It is directly responsible, for example, for the negro problem. It draws upon our school product for service in civil, political, and military positions. Our people, too, move about more than those of any other nation. There is already plenty of precedent for national aid in education. Witness the land-grant colleges; the grants of lands to public schools and to universities; the generous support given to reclamation, road-building, and forestation projects; and, perhaps nearest of all in analogy to education, the important work for our people of the United States Department of Agriculture. It is a part of the work of the teaching profession to make our people so see this national aspect of the educational problem.

New buildings and equipment. Of late years there has come better appreciation of the large significance of buildings and equipment in the educational program. School buildings are something more than devices to protect children from the weather while they are being educated. They are instruments to be used; they often shape the educational program; they are leading factors in determining health conditions. When once built, they are not easily changed.

During the World War period, school building was practically at a standstill. Costs of construction increased one hundred per cent and more. The demands for education multiplied rapidly. In consequence, thousands of children to-day are housed in unsanitary garrets, halls, and basements. Thousands more are in temporary and unsatisfactory rented quarters. Other thousands — one might almost say hundreds of thousands — are on attendance only part time because of the school-housing shortage. In addition, there are many old school buildings still used that are unfit for school use and ought to be abandoned.

We were spending about an eighth of a billion dollars a year for school buildings before the War. As building was practically at a standstill for five years, during which time costs doubled, it is plain that one and a fourth billion of dollars would be necessary to bring the school plant up to the conditions which prevailed previous to the War. In addition, there have come increased demands for schools. There has also come an expansion of the school program. The community, too, is using the school plant more extensively than ever before. The curriculum has been enriched. An estimate that places our immediate building needs at one and a half to two billions of dollars is unquestionably conservative. To help obtain the needed facilities, and to see that they are wisely used and carefully maintained, is another of the present-day problems in education in the solution of which the teaching profession can render important service.

A new basis of classification. The basis for school classification has in the past been that of chronological age. The plan has proved both unscientific and unjust. Children widely different in their capacities to profit by instruction have been grouped and taught together. There has been in consequence a large amount of retardation. Especially

has the plan proved harmful to the mentally alert who have been forced to adapt their rate of progress and their interests to the rate of progress and the interests of the dull and the backward. The ambitious teacher, anxious to speed up the rate of movement of her class, has often urged the inferior beyond his capacity. For one type or another the results have been the same — loss of interest, inattention, and finally elimination.

With the recent development of scientific methods of measurement such conditions are now being changed. The intelligence of the children has been measured. A careful inventory of their achievement has been taken. With data on hand on both inherent capacity and achievement in the school subjects, teachers have been able to compute the extent to which the pupil works up to his capacity. The grading problem now becomes one of sorting, as far as it is possible to do so, pupils who are homogeneous in respect to intelligence and performance into working groups. With large classes and many subjects to teach, it is no longer possible for one to give much individual instruction. When the social and civic objectives of education are considered, it is doubtful if so much emphasis upon the individual as we have given in the past is desirable. If pupils are properly grouped, it is probable that mass teaching is more effective than the so-called individual method.

Necessarily any plan of grouping should be flexible. There should be a sufficient number of tracks or group levels to insure that each pupil will be approximately on his own level. There should be as frequent transfers from one level to another as the needs of the pupils warrant. At the minimum there ought to be three sections — a superior, an average, and a slow. It is, of course, unnecessary to designate these by such names. Further plans of organization should be such that a pupil in a slow section may be transferred to a

higher at any time, or a pupil in a higher section dropped back. This is equivalent to saying that every class should be an opportunity class.

A new curriculum. Under this term is ordinarily included the materials taught and the methods used in teaching. Combined, we may think of the curriculum as a body of selected experiences, selected from the large number of worth-while activities of real life, which promote the growth of the child as he lives them. They are arranged first of all in the order of their difficulty. They are next arranged in the order of their values in preparing the pupils for the demands of daily life. The adjustment of the curriculum to the abilities and needs of the children is really what is comprised in grading.

The making of a new curriculum is an immense task which teachers ought to begin work upon as soon as they can. In the first place, they should eliminate outgrown and useless materials from their instruction. We teach many things that we could as well do without. Times have changed, but we have not changed the curriculum sufficiently with them. The first thing to do, then, is to eliminate all that cannot prove its worth. The next is to choose from the large number of social activities not now represented in schools those which are most closely related to the advancement of human welfare. There will then be provided much more material of the training type, and far less of the instructional. In other words, the new curriculum will be practical rather than academic, and the linguistic method of learning will be supplanted by the participation method — that of learning by doing. The typical social affairs — home, market, shop, factory, and farm — will figure far more in the teaching of the future.

The time-unit of organization, too, will tend to disappear. Instead of marking out tasks upon which the pupils will

spend a given amount of time — say a year — the thought will center upon the completion of the units independent of the time element. It seems absurd to hold a group or an individual for three years upon tasks which can be completed in two. The tendency seems clearly to be to organize the instruction of the future around larger units of activity which may be called projects.

Effective training for citizenship. A broadening of the concept of public education is much needed to prepare our people for effective citizenship. It should embrace, on the one hand, a far larger proportion of our population than is included at present. The millions of adults who have within recent years immigrated to our country should be supplied with the form of education which will help them effectively and happily to adjust themselves to our ideals and modes of life. School offerings should also be wide enough in scope to satisfy any one who wishes to pursue his studies in special or general fields. In carrying out these principles, an expansion of part-time, evening, and extension schools is demanded.

The problem of training for citizenship is larger than that of our adult foreign population and those native-born adults who feel the need of further formal education. The realization of a comprehensive program will require a complete working over of our social-science courses in the public schools. These need to be so reshaped as not only to lead the pupil to understand social organization and social affairs, but also so as to fit him by experience and practice for carrying on social activities. We must develop personal initiative, but not at the expense of personal responsibility. Discipline and self-control are also virtues that must at times take precedence over individualism and liberty of action.

We should direct our training in this line to bring forth the characteristics which are most highly prized in our na-

tional life. Just as surely as the seeds of generosity, toleration, courage, honesty, and good faith are planted in the hearts of the children, so they will grow into thriving plants in the lives of succeeding generations. Just as surely as we instill the best of American ideals and traditions into the children, so they will be brought out in the conduct of our people. As times change we must change with them, taking on new responsibilities, assuming new obligations, and enlarging our consciousness to grasp problems on a world scale. By such education only can we hope to forge the bonds of international good-will, and replace our present suspicion of alien peoples with the spirit of justice, peace, and mutual helpfulness.

A new type of social leadership. The leadership which our teachers can give should therefore clearly be in the direction of the future rather than of the past. It must of necessity be of the professional type — by people with the service ideal, and competent and efficient in framing and executing policies. The part which should be played by our teachers in this new type of national leadership should be vastly greater than it has been in the past. The undertaking, though, is too big for individuals working alone. We must change our conception of leadership from that of individuals to that of leader groups. From time immemorial individual planning has usually failed. The powers of one person are too limited; his life is too short.

There are particular reasons, too, why teachers, through their organizations, should accept the responsibility for social leadership. Briefly these may be stated as follows:

1. Teachers are social-minded. They direct their energies in the pathway of social service. They do not place obstacles in the way of progress.
2. Teachers are well organized. All sections of the country are represented in their local, State, and National Associations.

3. They have the opportunity to give the type of training which is required for social betterment. All the citizens of the country at some time or another are under their tutelage.
4. They are qualified by natural endowment, training, and experience for social leadership. They are able to work harmoniously with each other and with society.
5. There is no other group so competent.
 - a. No other profession is in the employ of the public.
 - b. No other profession has so large a membership and is so well organized.
 - c. No other group has the time, the training, nor the opportunity which teachers have to carry out social projects.
 - d. Political parties cannot assume the responsibility of social leadership. They are not possessed of a homogeneous membership. Their aim is the capture of offices; their main guide is the principle of temporary expediency. They are loosely organized and do not enjoy the confidence of even the majority.

Working through committees. While all the members of the group will be expected to contribute their part to an improvement program, the performance of special duties must often be delegated to committees. A great responsibility in consequence attaches to committee action and to committee selection. As most of our organizations are representative bodies, the force and integrity of the group will depend to a great extent upon the composition of the committees. These group leaders should be selected with great care, and should be held strictly accountable to the main body. While committees may rightly be expected to vary in their composition, according to the special duties assigned them, the following suggestions in their appointment are generally applicable:

1. Appoint committees whose members will work harmoniously together. A person who has the reputation of always wanting to run things and who will never subordinate his ideas has no place on a committee.

2. Appoint committees whose members are trustworthy. There is nothing to be gained by "putting things over" by sharp practices. Only honest methods should be employed, no matter how worthy the cause. Committees that will betray the public will in time sell out the organization when they can advance their own selfish interests by so doing. It may be that politicians can afford to be tricky. Teachers' organizations must keep the confidence of the public and must deserve it.
3. Appoint committee members who are adaptable. There is more than one solution to many of our educational problems. They must often be willing to compromise. They must be willing to learn.
4. Appoint committee members who can teach. Many times the only thing necessary to convince people of the expediency of a course of action is to put the facts clearly before them.
5. Appoint committee members who are persistent. There are many things which it will take years to accomplish. At the same time almost anything worth while can finally be accomplished if the group will only keep at work.
6. Appoint committee members who have good judgment. Radical, erratic, and unreasoning committeemen often give an organization a black eye by going off on some tangent, far removed from the real business for which they were appointed. It is well to avoid the critic who is without a constructive plan of improvement.

Many concrete examples of what teachers' organizations have done have been cited in preceding chapters. Some working principles by now have been clearly established. It is now proposed to summarize the earlier suggestions in the form of a program of method which teachers may follow in instituting improvements, designed either for the profession or for society as a whole. While there are many things which may be done, it is essential that such matters as the following be considered:

Selecting the thing or things to be done. A number of practical questions center about this point. Shall we try for the adoption of but one improvement at a time, or for many?

Shall we refuse to try for benefits for a small group until we can get them for all? To illustrate, shall we work for stable tenure, adequate salaries, diffused administration, and pensions simultaneously? Shall we refuse to work for any or all of these for teachers until we are reasonably sure of obtaining the benefits for all who do not now enjoy them?

The answer to the first question must be dictated mainly by expediency. If the adoption of the whole program can be consummated at once, so much the better. If a big program means failure, we should then concentrate on those enterprises which stand a fair chance of success. It is, of course, at times worth while to put a measure before the people, even when failure seems certain. Every time a really meritorious measure is made an issue, it gains some supporters. On the other hand, if too much is asked for, the public may react unfavorably to the whole plan. A big program also divides the effort of its supporters. It is in consequence generally better to concentrate all forces upon one or two measures. Let these be the most necessary ones, and at the same time the ones most likely to receive popular approval.

The generalization just given as to action is not to be construed as meaning that only one or two problems should be under investigation at a time. It refers only to such measures as are put before the legislature or the people for ratification or rejection. There is a real value in keeping many projects under way, so far as securing facts on them and outlining plans are concerned. Teachers' organizations can usually manage to keep a good many studies under way without imposing a heavy burden on any one. To illustrate the general practice, at one meeting of the Council of Education of the California State Teachers' Association (1920), action was taken concerning the following subjects:

1. Asking the State of California to make provision whereby the minimum salary of teachers be set at \$1200, the payment to fall mainly upon the State.
2. Calling for the appointment of a committee to investigate teacher measurement and teaching efficiency.
3. Emphasizing adequate provisions for teacher training in the State University.
4. Urging a better classification of children in the public schools.
5. Recommending the adoption of a better plan for the registration of minors.
6. Providing for a closer coöperation of section committees working on the problem of the reorganization of teachers' associations.
7. Ordering that special attention be given by existing committees to the problems of tenure, appointment, rating, and salaries.

The answer to the question, shall we postpone working for benefits for a small group until we are assured of benefits for all? is in the negative. Any advances along progressive lines may be counted as worth while, whether the direct benefits go to the teachers of Chicago, California, or the United States as a whole. It is better to have twenty per cent of our population enjoying decent conditions of living than to have none. It is only when benefits to one group mean corresponding injuries to others that they should be put under the ban. Even then, a program may be justified if the majority of the whole group is helped by it.

The answers to these two questions point out a practical step that our professional organizations should take. When a fight for better salaries or other necessary improvement is under way in one State, the whole strength of the profession should be mobilized in support of the organization making the fight. We should help in collecting pertinent facts. We should send our best speakers. We should contribute to the publicity campaign by letters and articles. We should put arguments before any of our friends who may be voters on

the proposition. The leadership in the supplementary campaign may well be undertaken by the National Education Association. Such action would parallel somewhat the tactics pursued by national political parties, which do not hesitate to throw their forces into local and State campaigns.

Organization. The profession is also dependent upon organization for advancement. The efforts of isolated individuals do not count for much to-day. Under modern conditions of living it may be set down as axiomatic that unorganized interests are doomed to failure. The welfare of teachers in a State that lacks a live and active Teachers' Association are sure to be neglected. The schools are pretty sure to be inefficient.

Suggestions for perfecting the form of professional organizations were given in Chapter V. Even more important than form is the spirit. On this aspect of organization there is no less to say. Constitutions, councils, and charters are necessary machinery, but they are not all of organization. A resolute and intelligent membership may compensate for many shortcomings in any scheme of organization. Nevertheless, one can be almost certain that a State Teachers' Association which has a good working plan and a large proportion of its teachers on the membership rolls is doing things for the teachers and for education. There is a world of wisdom in the remark of a Western educator that teachers need the organization worse than the organization needs the teachers, though both profit by the arrangement. This may be shown by comparing educational conditions in States where the Association is well organized and supported with States where it is poorly supported by the teaching body. The rank of the various States, in the proportion of the whole teaching body on the Association rolls for the year 1923, was as follows:

1. Wyoming	18. Massachusetts	34. Minnesota
2. Utah	19. Kansas	35. South Dakota
3. New Jersey	20. Idaho	36. North Carolina
4. Pennsylvania	21. New Hampshire	37. New Mexico
5. Arizona	22. Illinois	38. Mississippi
6. Rhode Island	23. Virginia	39. North Dakota
7. Connecticut	24. Washington	40. Texas
8. Nevada	25. West Virginia	41. Kentucky
9. Delaware	26. Ohio	42. Dist. of Columbia
10. Colorado	27. Nebraska	43. Maryland
11. Oklahoma	28. Vermont	44. Montana
12. California	29. Maine	45. New York
13. Arkansas	30. Iowa	46. Tennessee
14. Indiana	31. Louisiana	47. South Carolina
15. Michigan	32. Alabama	48. Georgia
16. Missouri	33. Wisconsin	49. Florida
17. Oregon		

Without arguing that there is a relation between the enrollment and the efficiency of a State Teachers' Association, the fact remains that States which rank low professionally also rank low in the general status of education.¹ Thus most of the States which stand high on the list above also stand high on the Ayers Index; most of those which stand at the bottom of the list are near the bottom on the Ayers Index. Moreover, in a recent study of progressive educational legislation in twenty-eight States, it was found that the States which rank highest above also are States where the most progressive educational legislation is to-day being enacted.

Securing the facts. The third requirement for obtaining results is to have possession of the facts. Facts offer the sovereign method for overcoming opposition. Oratory and even dogmatism must give way before them. Programs built upon facts are solidly built. They are the only effective

¹ The correlation between educational efficiency on the Ayers Index and professional membership is $.524 \pm .022$; between professional membership and progressive educational and social legislation $.418 \pm .069$.

instrument to use against prejudice. The realization of this has served to make research bureaus indispensable adjuncts of every well-organized State and National Teachers' Association.

An illustration of the value of facts in educational planning may be cited. In 1920, the people of the State of California ratified an amendment to their constitution which increased the State contribution for elementary schools to \$30 per pupil. Inasmuch as all State revenues are derived from corporation taxes, it was to be expected that an unusually strong effort would soon be made to rescind the provision. Under a reactionary governor, who believed that "education should be made hard to obtain," the attack was begun. The specific charges against the amendment were that it had failed to achieve its purpose — namely, a greater equalization of the burden and of opportunities of education. In order to discover with what efficiency the amendment was operating, the State High School Principals' Association undertook an investigation as to the facts. The results published by the Association showed clearly that:

1. During the three years 1921-23 local units were relieved of the burden of raising over five million dollars under the requirements of the new amendment, and this amount was added to the State's share.
2. The shortest school year was raised from 139 days to 163 days; the longest from 191 days to 194 days.
3. The lowest average salary paid women was raised from \$798.59 to \$1269.16. The county which in 1920-21 paid salaries 132 per cent higher than the lowest salaries, in 1922-23 paid salaries only 56 per cent higher than the lowest salaries. In the same time the salaries in the counties paying the highest salaries increased only 4.2 per cent.
4. The contribution of corporation to school support was increased from 14 per cent of the total in 1920, to 20.3 per cent in 1923. That this increase was not unfair was shown by the fact that the taxed corporations, while owning some 18 per

cent of the taxable wealth of the State, still pay only 15 per cent of the taxes.

The effect of the publication and dissemination of the whole truth concerning the operation of the amendment was not only to rout the public school opponents, but to justify as well the proposal that a still larger share of the support of the schools might equitably be borne by the State. Many other examples of analogous action on the part of the Teachers' Associations of California could be given, a few of which are summarized below. They go to prove the truth of the assertion that the high place which the State holds in American education is largely due to the foresight and energy of its teachers' organizations:

1. The California High School Principals' Association published a digest of the record of members of the State legislature of 1923, on important educational and humanitarian measures, as shown by their votes. Copies were sent to the constituents of the legislators with the suggestion that those who did not stand for progressive measures should not be re-elected.
2. The State Superintendents' Association issued a declaration respecting the "Assault upon California's Public Schools," designed to give the people the answers to charges made as to extravagance and inefficiency in the management of education.
3. The State Teachers' Association issued a bulletin, analyzing the budget of the governor, and showing the injurious effect its adoption would have upon the teacher-training institutions of the State.

Publicity. The discussion of the preceding topic serves well to lead up to the subject of publicity. This is simply a means of bringing the facts which have been collected before the public, and showing what they mean in terms of educational and social progress. There should be no promoting of projects that will not stand the fullest investigation. There

should be no attempt to influence public opinion through the expression of part of the truth. Take the position that educational problems are public problems. Put all the cards on the table, and ask the public to help in arriving at the best solution. The juggling of figures, or the conscious misrepresentation of conditions, will act as a boomerang and inevitably injure the schools and the teaching profession.

The first type of publicity needed is the year-round kind that keeps the public informed as to what is going on in the schools. Reports on attendance, progress in the school subjects, the introduction of new studies, meetings of parents and teachers, extra-curricular activities — all the regular occurrences of the year should be made known through the public press and through bulletins of the schools. Personal items — the human interest type — should figure largely in the news items. In order that the publicity feature of school life may not be neglected and may be handled with judgment, some capable committee or individual ought to be put in charge. The second type of publicity is the occasional kind. It may be for the purpose of keeping school enterprises in the public mind, or for the purpose of influencing public opinion to support measures for school improvement. The dedication of a new building, the preparation of a new course of study, or the holding of an institute are examples of the first; while campaigns for something which is wanted, such as new buildings, a pension system, and better salaries are examples of the second. The special campaigns are usually for one of two purposes: (1) to obtain more money, or (2) to secure desired legislation, or for both. If the decision rests with the people, the preliminary period should be directed to the leaders, and finally an inclusive campaign launched. If the decision rests with the board or with the legislature, the constituents should be reached first, and the final effort concentrated on the smaller groups.

There are almost countless media of publicity. When cautions are duly observed, the children are about as effective as any. They cannot be employed except the advantages accruing to them through the proposed action are so obvious as to escape no one. Special forms which have proved valuable in the campaign type of publicity are as follows:

Public addresses	Circular letters
Personal letters	Reports
Bulletins	Student papers and magazines
Parades	Exhibits
Entertainments	Athletic meets
Glee clubs	Debates
General newspapers	Visitors' day
Institutes	Fairs
Spelling contests	Picnics
Store-window displays	Posters
Visiting teachers	Demonstrations
Motion pictures	Stereopticon views
Personal appeal	

It goes without saying that every school and every organized teaching group should have its publicity agent and its publicity medium. Historians have declared that the failure of many movements has been due to the inability of their adherents to put aims clearly before the public. In other words, they fail to use publicity methods. All of the devices named above are open to the teaching profession. Even a small school may issue a weekly or monthly bulletin, though it be no more than a mimeographed sheet.

The final conclusion. At no time should teachers take the attitude that "things will come out all right, even if we do nothing." Practically everything we have that is worth while has been the product of human ingenuity and human persistence. In this century the idea that man is master of his fate is dominant. Nothing is put within the category of

the impossible. As A. Faris well says, sensible people control the future in which

Every problem is thought of as a separate enterprise. Poverty, disease, crime, vice, intemperance, or war — these are definite situations which challenge human effort and human ingenuity. Many problems are unsolved; many failures are recorded. The future is a challenge to creative intelligence and collective heroism. The future is thought of as still to be made. There is no assurance that progress will take place. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that progress will not take place unless men are able by their skill and devotion to find solutions for their present problems, and for the newer ones that shall arise.

Thus we conclude with the principle stated in the beginning of the chapter. The social point of view should be kept to the front, and consideration should be given to all the manifold social factors. We want to avoid elevating one group by the simple expedient of submerging another. As a practical principle of social engineering we need to keep in mind the advice of Ross:

In the piloting of society no valuable element should have too little influence nor too much influence. When a ganglion of gray matter is not left free to do well its proper work, or when it cannot get a fair hearing for its good ideas and hence is not making to the intelligent guidance of the whole that contribution which it is capable of making, it has too little influence. When, on the other hand, it is so ascendant as to make all the rest the victim of its special psychology it has too much influence. Thus we arrive at the principle of balance, which may be formulated as follows: In the guidance of society each social element should share according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members, and **NONE SHOULD DOMINATE.**

Summary. The ultimate purpose of education is the improvement of the general welfare. In addition to advancing their own welfare, teachers are obligated to make education as strong a force for human progress in this Nation as they

can. The needs of the times call for fundamental reforms in educational organization, financial support, buildings and equipment, classification, the curriculum, civic education, and social leadership. There is general agreement as to the direction these reforms should take. It now remains for the teaching profession to assume an aggressive leadership in the execution of a broad and far-reaching educational program. They will need to use the standard devices of planning, organization, research, and publicity. What they propose must be based on needs, their demands must be supported by facts, and the broad social purpose must be dominant.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS

1. Show how a consideration of the real objectives of society will help to keep the teacher from over-stressing many elements in the curriculum.
2. Looking at such professional problems as salaries, tenure, pensions, etc., from the broad social point of view do you believe they can be justified as essential features in a program of social improvement?
3. Discuss the question whether teachers, lawyers, or some other social group should take the main responsibility for social leadership.
4. Explain why it is important to the welfare of the teaching profession that education be kept as efficient as possible. Why should teachers inform themselves on such subjects as educational finance, the curriculum, organization, and the like?
5. Is it of any direct importance to city teachers whether rural schools are adequately financed, organized, administered, supervised, and taught? Discuss.
6. Is it injurious to the profession for teachers invariably to take the viewpoint that the old ways are the best — that is, to oppose the introduction of new ideas and practices? Discuss.
7. Why is the concept of leadership as belonging to individuals and not to groups insufficient? Can you give examples of leadership groups?
8. Suppose you were given the appointment of a committee to take charge of some assumed matter of vital interest to the teachers. Describe the personnel of the committee you would select.
9. Show how a well-organized State or National Association could be of help to a local teachers' association in a campaign for higher salaries. Is there anything unethical in such coöperation?
10. A superintendent and a school board juggled the funds of the high school and elementary school districts in order to maintain the latter

through the year without asking the people of the city for a special tax levy. None of them profited any whatsoever by the deception, and there was no suspicion of any wrong intent. Was the policy a wise one? Discuss.

11. Give an illustration of the use of factual material in influence votes or other support for an educational campaign.
12. Analyze briefly publicity methods and devices in your own school. What suggestions can you make for their improvement?
13. Show that the quotation from Faris supports the earlier contention that teachers do well to concentrate upon one professional problem at a time.
14. Explain why it would not be socially desirable for control to rest in the hands of any particular class or profession.

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